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CICERO'S DE AMICITIA

BOWEN

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LAELIVS
DE AMICITIA

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

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PREFACE

This edition of the *Laelius* is based on the standard text of C. F. W. Müller. All the critical material that has appeared since the publication of Müller's edition has been utilized, however, in order to help the student to a more satisfactory interpretation of Cicero's famous essay on Old Age. The variant readings are collected in a Critical Appendix at the end of the volume, where the textual criticism is to be found.

The edition has been provided with a rather full Introduction, in which much information is given as to the probable date of composition, the characters of the dialogue, the nature of the work, and its sources. It is hoped that this general information will quicken the interest of the student and enable him to acquire a better understanding of the *Laelius*.

The Commentary is believed to be sufficient to explain all the more difficult points. Despite the fact that the present edition is intended primarily for students, it has not been deemed wise to reduce the notes to a mere skeleton. However, they have been so arranged as to convey the desired information in the most convenient form. Translation — where translation was thought to be advisable — is regularly given first and the syntactical explanations follow. In the few cases where references to larger manuals seemed desirable, such references are added at the end of the note, so as to facilitate the labor of the student. This general plan has been adopted in the hope that the student may feel encouraged to read the notes by finding immediate assistance at the beginning.

In addition to the German annotated editions to which I am indebted, I have found the excellent editions of Ben-

nett and Moore especially helpful in the preparation of the present work.

It remains now to express my sincere thanks to Professor Gonzalez Lodge, of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of the editors of the series, for the valuable criticism and suggestion he has so cheerfully given me, as well as for the laborious service in proof-reading. I wish also to express to Mr. J. M. Burton, jun., and Mr. H. V. Bounds, two of my students, and to Dr. Herbert C. Lipscomb, of the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, my hearty appreciation of their assistance so generously given.

E. W. B.

Ashland, Va., June 1, 1909.

INTRODUCTION

I. CICERO AS A PHILOSOPHICAL WRITER

Cicero had two well-defined periods of literary activity during which he produced most of his writings. After his exile in 58–57 B. C., he withdrew from political life and devoted himself to literature. The result of this creative impulse was the *De Oratore*, written in 55, the *De Re Publica*, in 54, and the *De Legibus*, in 52. These works are among the author's most important and are classed as philosophical, according to the received meaning of that term. This period of literary activity was interrupted by political trouble and the Civil War which lasted till 46 B. C. During those troublous times, Cicero presumably had little inclination to write. For his relations with his friend Cæsar were greatly strained, and Cicero felt that he could not compromise his political principles. The senate and the law courts, therefore, were no longer open to him as an inviting field for his energies, and so he betook himself to literature. He conceived the happy idea of interpreting Greek philosophy to the Romans and accordingly he undertook the ambitious plan of writing philosophical treatises in Latin, for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen. Up to that time the philosophical writings accessible to the Romans were, for the most part, in Greek. It is true that Lucretius had produced a notable poem, *De Rerum Natura*, but as yet this work had made only little impression and found very few readers. Other works were more widely circulated, but were so crudely written as to possess very slight literary merit.

Cicero's second active period of productivity as a man of letters extends from the year 46 B. C. to his death, in

43, and includes perhaps his finest work. To this period belong the great philosophical writings which were the actual result of the author's plan above mentioned, and which exercised such a potent influence over the speculative mind of the Middle Ages, stimulating and directing its thought for generations. The first treatise of this period, written in 46, was the *Hortensius*, or *De Philosophia*, which has perished. This was based on a lost dialogue of Aristotle and recounted the advantages to be derived from the study of philosophy. In this same year Cicero published his oratorical works *Partitiones Oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*. In the early part of the following year his devoted daughter Tullia died, and he was inconsolable. He divorced his wife because of her lack of sympathy and retired altogether from public life for the remainder of the year. Removing from Rome, he took up his residence at his country seat and devoted himself sedulously to writing, in order to divert his mind from his deep and poignant grief. Consequently, in the years 45 and 44, he produced in rapid succession *De Consolatione*, *Academica*, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, *Disputationes Tusculanae*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *Cato Maior* or *De Senectute*, *Laelius* or *De Amicitia*, *De Fato*, *Paradoxa*, *De Officiis*, besides some rhetorical treatises such as *Topica* and *De Optimo Genere Dicendi*.

Indeed, Cicero had become so deeply absorbed in his literary pursuits that he hardly allowed himself to be interrupted by such a public calamity as the assassination of Cæsar, which occurred on the Ides of March, 44 B. C. Fortunately, most of the works which engaged and engrossed Cicero's attention in those stormy times of the Republic are still extant. They live as a monument to their author's literary ability and versatility no less than as an evidence of his unflagging industry and seriousness of purpose in the domain of philosophy.

2. THE LAELIUS, TIME OF WRITING AND TITLE

The *Laelius* appears to have been composed after the assassination of Julius Cæsar, perhaps in the early summer of that year. It was written immediately after the publication of the *Cato Maior*, which appeared in the spring of 44 B. C. Editors have endeavored to read into the political allusions of the *Laelius*, especially under the characters of Coriolanus and Ti. Gracchus, a warning to Antony and Cæsar in particular and to the men of light and leading in Rome in general, not to form temporary alliances for personal aims and ambitions, but to form lasting friendships which are cemented together by *virtus*, patriotism and loyalty to one's friends. It is of course possible that some such noble motive as this may have prompted this essay on friendship. However, it cannot be proved.

As to the title of the *Laelius*, there is some variation in the manuscripts. Some manuscripts have *Laelius de Amicitia Liber ad T. Pomponium Atticum*; others have *Laelius de Amicitia ad Pomponium Atticum*, while still others have simply *Laelius de Amicitia*. Cicero himself refers to the essay thus: *sed de amicitia alio libro dictum est qui inscribitur Laelius* (*De Officiis* 2, 31). Yet he also refers to it by the sub-title *de amicitia* in the body of the work itself (cf. 5, *ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia*). Now, it is well known that several of Cicero's works have a double title, such as the *Brutus*, also called *De Claris Oratoribus*, the *Hortensius*, also called *De Philosophia*, and of course the companion essay to the *Laelius*, viz. the *Cato Maior*, or *De Senectute*. The Romans could give abundant precedent for the employment of double titles in the usage of the Greeks, if one may judge from the ancient citations of Plato's works.

3. TITUS POMPONIUS ATTICUS, TO WHOM THE LAELIUS WAS DEDICATED

The *Laelius* was dedicated and sent to Cicero's dear friend Titus Pomponius Atticus. Atticus was a native of Rome, being born in 109 B. C. and consequently Cicero's senior by three years. He passed his early life, up to his twenty-fourth year, in Rome, in intimate association with Cicero. In 85 B. C., after the proscriptions of Sulla, Atticus left Rome for Athens, ostensibly to study there, but in reality for his own safety because he feared that his fortune might become an object of envy. He possessed an immense fortune which he had inherited from his father and uncle. In Athens he remained for twenty years, interesting himself in the study of Greek philosophy and literature and at the same time conducting a large business as a banker and capitalist. His return to Rome in 65 B. C. was a matter of general regret to the cultured Athenians to whom he had endeared himself during his long residence in Greece. He was familiar with the entire range of Greek and Latin literature, and literary men esteemed his scholarship so highly that they frequently invited his criticism of their productions.

Atticus was greatly interested in books and conducted at Rome a large publishing business. He employed numerous slaves in copying books both for his own library and also for sale. It is not improbable that through his agency most of Cicero's books were first published. Though a man of scholarly tastes and pursuits, Atticus himself never wrote a book, at least so far as we are informed. For a quarter of a century or longer he carried on a voluminous correspondence with his bosom friend Cicero. Of the intimacy and sincerity of their life-long friendship, however, only Cicero's letters (*Epistulae ad Atticum*) bear ample evidence, for Atticus's letters are all lost. Atticus survived his friend eleven years, dying in 32 B. C.

In philosophy Atticus leaned toward the Epicurean school, although he probably did not accept the tenets even of that school without qualification. He perhaps preferred not to identify himself too closely with any one system. He always held himself aloof from factions and parties, and he took absolutely no part in politics. For this reason, as well as on account of his wealth and culture, he was sought out by the distinguished men of all parties. He lived on terms of intimacy with such leading men as Sulla, Pompey, Cæsar, Brutus, Antony and Octavianus.

4. THE FORM OF THE DIALOGUE

As the model for his philosophical treatises in general Cicero followed the plan of the Greek writers Plato and Aristotle, especially the latter. In his dialogues Plato makes one character, Socrates, very prominent and he monopolizes the discussion. Aristotle, on the other hand, aims to use the persons of his dialogue as the medium for the exposition of his own views, making one character the chief expositor of those views. Hence in Aristotle there is not so much discussion, but more exposition. Furthermore, Aristotle's dialogues were more popular than Plato's and found many more imitators. The truth is, Plato's characteristic method of question and answer, somehow, met with but little favor among his successors. In most of his philosophical works except the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero followed the precedent set by Aristotle and makes one person express his views in full before the company. So in the *Cato Maior* Cicero makes Cato discourse at length so naturally that the author affirms (*Laelius*, 4) that he could hardly believe that he and not Cato actually wrote the book. Cicero was so pleased with the result that he decided to adopt the same dialogue method in the *Laelius*, imitating the plan of the *Cato Maior* even down

to the sentence structure in one or two instances (cf. *Laelius*, 16 and *Cato Maior*, 6 and 15).[1]

Conforming to the time-honored custom of harking back to the past for models for the emulation and imitation of the present generation, Cicero selected as the chief personage for his discussion of friendship the distinguished statesman Lælius, a man who commanded the reverence and admiration of the Romans in the last century of the Republic as the very embodiment of all that was high and noble in the national character. Lælius's words, therefore, would naturally commend themselves to the judgment of the more thoughtful of Cicero's contemporaries as authoritative and worthy of serious consideration. Cicero informs Atticus of his purpose in choosing the times of the younger Scipio Africanus as the date for this treatise on friendship; and as if to make the dialogue seem more natural and real, he reminds Atticus of his association with one of the characters. The date of the dialogue is the year 129 B. C., just after the death of Africanus.

5. THE SPEAKERS OF THE DIALOGUE

The speakers of the dialogue are Lælius, the chief speaker, and his two sons-in-law, Scævola and Fannius.

(a) Lælius. Gaius Lælius, the star character in the *De Amicitia*, and from whom the dialogue takes its name, was an intimate friend of Scipio Africanus Minor, just as his father before him, Gaius Lælius the elder, was the bosom companion of Scipio Africanus Maior. The younger Lælius was a distinguished soldier and statesman and an enthusiastic patron of letters who gathered about him a coterie of brilliant writers including the dramatist Terence.

[1] On the form of the *Laelius* see Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, Leipzig, 1895, vol. I, 544 *seq.* He maintains that in the *Laelius* as in the *Cato Maior* the form of the dialogue is the pure dramatic. On the relation of the dialogue to the so-called *libri logistorici* of Varro see also Ritschl, *Die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro*, Rhein. Museum, 6, 501.

Lælius was born about 186 B. C. At thirty-five he was plebeian tribune and brought forward certain measures for the improvement of the condition of the plebeians. A little later he changed his political views and associated himself with the aristocratic party. As prætor in 145 B. C., he defeated a measure which had for its object the election of the augurs by popular vote. In the year 141 he was a candidate for the consulship, but was defeated although he had the support of Scipio. The following year, however, he stood again for the same office and was successful. He served as augur and left behind him a fine record, Cicero tells us, as *bonus augur*.

Lælius also had a brilliant career as a soldier. He served with distinction under Scipio in the third Punic War, performing several heroic exploits. As prætor he led a successful expedition against Viriathus in Spain. Yet his renown as a statesman and philosopher surpassed even his fame as a soldier. He was a forceful and deliberate speaker, although his oratory was not of the style termed impassioned. His language was copious, chaste and polished and reflected his high culture. Some of his speeches were extant in Cicero's time and were read by the prince of Roman orators with admiring interest. Cicero refers to one of Lælius's orations as a little gem of a speech (*aureola oratiuncula, Nat. Deo.* 3, 43), though he employs less complimentary terms in referring to another (*vetustior et horridior, Brut.* 83).

Lælius was a notable patron of letters and is reputed to have revised some of his friend Terence's plays. In fact, it was once believed in ancient times that he actually wrote the plays attributed to that dramatist, so pure was his Latinity (cf. Cic., *Ad Atticum*, 7, 3, 10). He was widely read in literature, both Greek and Latin. He was recognized as the foremost exponent and champion of Greek culture, which had been introduced into Rome while he was yet in

his prime. At first, Greek was unpopular; but the permeating influence of Hellenic literature gradually overcame the innate prejudice of the Romans. At last, so bitter and uncompromising an opponent as Cato even yielded to the charm and is said to have begun the study of Greek after he had reached old age.

In philosophy Lælius inclined to Stoicism, and he was a pupil of Diogenes and later of Panætius of Rhodes.

Lælius's character appears to have been worthy of unqualified admiration. Cicero everywhere speaks of him in the highest terms and all writers who mention him comment on his inflexible integrity and unfailing self-control. Horace speaks of his gentleness (*mitis sapientia Laeli*) and his cheerfulness was well known. It is not surprising then that even during his lifetime Lælius was surnamed *sapiens*, "the wise," for he combined in his character, as very few men ever did, that ripe culture and those ideal Roman virtues which served to make that people famous the world over for their exhibition of practical wisdom.

Cicero not only introduces Lælius in the *De Amicitia*, but he also represents him as an interlocutor in two other of his works, *Cato Maior* and *De Republica*. In the *De Amicitia*, however, he invites attention especially to Lælius's friendship for Scipio. This is one of the most notable examples of friendship to be found anywhere in the ancient world. Scipio reverenced Lælius as a father, says Cicero, and Lælius, on his part, regarded Scipio as almost a god (cf. *De Republica*, 1, 18). The thoughts upon friendship which Lælius gives us in this essay on that theme, he himself tells us, are, for the most part, those entertained by Scipio.

(b) Scævola. Quintus Mucius Scævola, the augur, was of a distinguished family of lawyers and himself stood among the foremost as an authority on law. The dates of

this jurist's birth and death are not definitely known; but it is clear that he was born not far from the year 157 B. C. and died probably about 88 B. C. In the year 121 he was prætor and was afterwards appointed governor of Asia. Upon his return from this province he was prosecuted for extortion (*reptundae*), but the charge was not proved. He is reputed to have had little political ambition; and yet he attained to the rank of consul, filling the office in 117 B. C. He did not identify himself closely with any one party and because of his freedom from partisanship he exerted all the greater influence in the state. Even as an old man he received his clients at daybreak and was among the first to arrive at the Curia. He was as renowned for his wit and genial disposition as for his legal lore. He had hosts of friends among the first men of the state, who daily thronged his house (Cic., *De Orat.* 1, 200; *Phil.* 8, 31). Cicero and Atticus, when young men, were both placed under his care for training in the law, and Cicero never speaks of him except with great respect and admiration. Cicero introduces him as a speaker in his *De Oratore* and *De Re Publica*. (This Scævola is not to be confused with Quintus Mucius Scævola, the pontifex maximus, who, as a suspected partisan of Sulla, was put to death by the Marian party in 82 B. C.)

(c) Fannius. Gaius Fannius Strabo won great renown as a soldier. He served under Scipio in the third Punic War and was among the first to enter Carthage when that city was taken by Scipio in 146 B. C. Later he served under Fabius in the war against Viriathus. He manifested considerable interest in politics also and in 122 B. C. was elected to the consulship. As a historian he attained some distinction by his narrative of the wars he had engaged in. The accuracy of his historical work is highly commended by Sallust. Cicero, on the other hand, finds little in its style worthy of praise.

6. SCIPIO

Publius Cornelius Scipio, the younger son of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, was born 185 B. C. and was adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, who was the son of the conqueror of Hannibal. In 168 B. C., he first attracted public attention by his brave exploits at Pydna while serving under his father. Again, in 151, in Spain he furnished striking evidence of his personal courage and ability as a soldier. In 149 he achieved no small distinction in Africa and practically saved the Roman army from utter destruction. His reputation as a brave and competent soldier was such that when, in the year 148 B. C., he was a candidate for the ædileship only, by a suspension of the laws he was elected consul and put in command of the army before Carthage. In 146 he captured Carthage and made Africa a Roman province; and in honor of this brilliant achievement he was given the surname Africanus Minor (to distinguish him from the elder Africanus). In 142 he made a notable record as censor, and in 134, when an energetic leader was needed to bring to a successful conclusion the disastrous campaign in Spain, he was again chosen, although he did not desire the office, and was immediately placed in command of the army besieging Numantia. He fully measured up to the popular expectation and speedily reduced Numantia in 133 B. C., thus putting a prosperous end to the long-drawn-out campaign. For this illustrious service he was given a grand triumph and the surname Numantinus in recognition of his capture of Numantia.

Scipio's wife was the sister of Tiberius Gracchus, the agrarian reformer who was murdered while Scipio was besieging Numantia. Scipio, however, did not himself look with favor upon his brother-in-law's reforms, and on hearing of his death, he exclaimed : "So may another perhaps who dares such deeds as he." Scipio's unsympathetic

attitude toward Ti. Gracchus alienated the plebeians from him, and so he affiliated with the aristocrats and later became their doughty champion. In 129 B. C. he brought forward a measure which contemplated the abrogation of the law of Tiberius Gracchus by removing it from the hands of the three commissioners, C. Gracchus, Papirius Carbo and Fulvius Flaccus. It was a stormy day in the senate when this bill was proposed and Carbo hurled against Scipio his bitterest denunciations. When the senate adjourned, Scipio was triumphantly escorted to his home by a throng of Latins and Italians whose rights he had championed. The following morning Scipio was found dead in his room. The cause of his death was not known, and sentiment was divided. Yet many suspected that Carbo had brought about his death, perhaps through an assassin. In the *Laelius*, however, Cicero assumes Scipio's death to have been natural, although elsewhere he intimates that it was the result of violence through the agency of Carbo.

7. THE SCIPIONIC CIRCLE

Greek literature and philosophy had begun to exert a potent influence on Roman culture in Scipio's time. To be sure, Hellenism had been a powerful factor in Latin literature and in the social life of the Romans already for a generation or two before. But with the introduction of philosophy through the famous Athenian embassy of 153 B. C., Hellenism rapidly spread among the educated and influential circles of society with a permeating and quickening effect. After the three great philosophers of Athens — Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic and Critolaus the Peripatetic — came to Rome and lectured, philosophy began to exert a real and vital effect upon the Roman national life, and many eminent Romans began to take far more than a mere passing interest in the

new learning. Thus the various systems of Greek philosophy found their way to Rome and enlisted recruits who developed into devoted disciples. The most popular system was the Stoic; and it was this system which commended itself to the favor and qualified acceptance of Scipio and his circle. But the Stoicism which Scipio's circle professed was a modified form of the Greek system especially adapted to the tastes and ideals of the Romans. For Stoicism in the eyes of that practical people was not so much a form of faith, but rather a theory, or working principle, which found definite expression in their views and aims for the direct improvement of their ideas of law and government. Moreover, the Romans were disposed to reject, as out of keeping with their practical character, any system of philosophy that failed to issue in some definite and permanent benefit of the race.

Scipio himself was an enthusiastic follower of the Stoic system and counted himself among the professed disciples of the celebrated philosopher Panætius. Lælius had been taught Stoicism both by Panætius and Diogenes. There is much of the philosophy of these two noble Romans contained in the pages of the *Laelius*, so that the essay is highly colored with Stoicism.

But Scipio's interest in Greek was by no means confined to philosophy. He took a profound and lasting interest in Greek literature and studied under the direction of the historian Polybius. It is alleged that he had a more thorough acquaintance with the Greek language than any other Roman of his time, with the possible exception of Lælius. It is not surprising then that Scipio became the center of a large circle of distinguished Romans who interested themselves greatly in Greek art, literature and philosophy. In this select group of scholars and statesmen who were enthusiastic admirers of Hellenism were included such men as the renowned historian Polybius, the satirist

Lucilius, the dramatists Terence and Pacuvius, the philosopher Panætius, besides others hardly less famous. Some of these, as for example Philus, Manilius, Mummius, are especially mentioned in the *Laelius*. These scholars set themselves the commendable task of broadening and deepening, by reading and discussion, their acquaintance with Hellenic art and literature simultaneously with their study of Greek philosophy. They also aimed at the same time to improve and elevate the Latin speech, enriching its vocabulary and purifying its idiom. They criticised the language of their predecessors. Lucilius particularly held up to censure the language of Ennius and Plautus. No doubt, this criticism had a wholesome and ennobling influence upon the Latin idiom, for the plays of Terence which are a product of that movement are noted for the purity of their Latinity. The traditions of the Scipionic school were followed by Cæsar and Cicero, who carried the Latin tongue, in their writings, to the very acme of its development.

8. THE UNPOPULARITY OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY AT ROME

When Greek literature and philosophy were first introduced at Rome, they were regarded with suspicion by many. Not a few of the Romans who led the simple life looked upon Greek culture as effeminate and as exerting an unsalutary influence. Indeed, the great majority of Romans condemned the new learning. Even the stern old Roman, Cato the Censor, alleged that along with Greek philosophy came oriental extravagance and luxury and vice, which were destined to sap and undermine the pristine vigor and virility of the people and all their other excellent qualities which made for the greatness and permanency of the national life. Consequently such a man as Cato strenuously opposed from principle everything

that smacked of Greek learning and civilization. He even went so far as to protest against the Greek philosophers who constituted the Athenian embassy of 153 B. C., because the ambassadors ventured to deliver lectures upon philosophy to the youth, during their sojourn in Rome.

Now, the opponents of Greek culture were leaders in the state and created and moulded public opinion, so that according as they thought upon any public question of moment, so the majority of the Roman people felt and thought. At Rome then Greek philosophy was under the ban. For a Roman, therefore, to manifest openly a keen interest in Greek culture and civilization, or to study Greek literature and philosophy, was to court unpopularity with his fellow-countrymen. This is evident in numerous passages in the *Laelius*. This is the reason, too, why Cicero, who was thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of Scipio's times, makes Lælius pretend to be ignorant of the various Greek philosophers and their respective systems, in order that Lælius may not forfeit the favor of the people. Scipio and his friends, therefore, had to manage, somehow, to keep the people in the dark as to their real interest in Greek philosophy and literature. For had they taken the people into their confidence, they would probably have rendered themselves extremely unpopular with their fellow-countrymen.

9. THE SOURCES OF THE LAELIUS

Athens, not Rome, was the home of philosophy, and the Romans, unlike the Hellenes, had no special inclination to philosophical speculation and inquiry. With the Greeks philosophy was regarded as a sufficient end in itself to engage one's undivided attention and most serious study. To the Roman mind, on the contrary, philosophy was not considered an end in itself worthy of serious pursuit, but rather as a means only to contribute some practical good,

some actual improvement, in law and government which the Romans deemed above all other things the chief objects of human interest and endeavor.

Cicero, like the rest of his fellow-countrymen, did not evolve anything new in his philosophical studies. He did not create; he simply adapted. He endeavored to modify and arrange the Greek philosophical speculations for his Latin readers. Cicero wrote the *Laelius*, as he wrote all his philosophical works, for the benefit of those of his fellow-countrymen who, from their lack of acquaintance with Greek, could not read Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon and other philosophers of Hellas in the original.

The *Laelius* is an ethical treatise on friendship. This theme was one which attracted much attention among ancient philosophers and they devoted no small space to its discussion in their moral systems. Especially was this a popular subject for discussion among the Greek writers after the freedom of political life had been blotted out and become a mere name. Even Plato himself wrote a treatise on friendship, viz. the *Lysis*. Aristotle devoted two entire books of his *Nicomachean Ethics* to the discussion of friendship. Besides these, Crito, Xenocrates, Speusippus and Cleanthes also discussed the same subject. That Cicero consulted the treatises of these ancient Greek writers when he composed his essay on friendship cannot be positively affirmed. Yet it is reasonably certain that he had a general acquaintance with some of them at least. Aulus Gellius, in speaking of the Περὶ Φιλίας of Theophrastus, informs us that Cicero presumably read that book when he was composing his *De Amicitia*. He says (*Noctes Atticae*, 1, 3, 10): *Eum librum M. Cicero videtur legisse cum ipse quoque, librum de amicitia componeret.* In his *Laelius*, § 85, Cicero translates this passage in Theophrastus quite literally, laying it down as a fundamental principle of friendship that "the affections should follow

the judgment, not the judgment the affections." Cicero's words are: *Quocirca (dicendum est enim saepius) cum iudicaris diligere oportet, non, cum dilexeris, iudicare* (*Laelius*, § 85). With this compare the following from Theophrastus: οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν.

There is hardly any doubt that Cicero had read Plato's *Lysis*, although it would be hard to establish this by citation of parallel passages. One might cite as strikingly similar passages the introduction of the *Theaetetus* and section 3 of the *Laelius*. It is manifest that Cicero paraphrases Plato's thought again and again in his *Cato Maior*, which was written just before the *Laelius*. Likewise there are resemblances between the *Laelius* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and scholars have undertaken to prove that Cicero directly imitated Aristotle's method throughout his dialogue. Yet the resemblances are not of such a character as to warrant direct indebtedness on Cicero's part and the evidence adduced is by no means conclusive. Perhaps the most that can be affirmed, as Reid stated, is that Cicero probably knew of the existence of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and may even have read it at some time or other before he wrote the *Laelius*. For the ethical utterances of that treatise bear only a general resemblance to the views set forth in Cicero's dialogue on friendship.[1]

[1] Th. Schiche, *Ciceros philosophische Schriften, Jahresberichte des philosophischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 24, p. 248 fol., concludes, after an investigation of the problem of the sources of the *Laelius*, that Cicero was no doubt familiar with the Greek treatises on Friendship including Theophrastus's Περὶ Φιλίας, but that he was not indebted to any special work.

Heylbut, *De Theophrasti libris* Περὶ Φιλίας, Bonn, 1876, undertakes to show that Theophrastus copied Aristotle and that Cicero used Theophrastus in the composition of his *Laelius*. As has been pointed out by other editors, this would explain the verbal resemblances between the *Laelius* and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (Bks. 8–9). (Heylbut thinks that Cicero used only excerpts from Theophrastus by an unknown hand.) Schanz, *Geschichte der Röm. Literatur*, p. 330, accepts Heylbut's conclusions.

On the other hand, Braxator, *Quid in conscribendo Ciceronis Laelio valuerint*

The resemblance to Xenophon, however, is more specific, and there is hardly any doubt that Cicero borrowed directly from that writer certain views concerning friendship which are expressed in the *Laelius*. For example, Cicero maintains that friendship cannot exist unless it reposes upon virtue as a foundation. Now, this same thesis is established by Xenophon, who reports it in a discourse on friendship delivered by Socrates (*Memorabilia*, 2, 4, 10). Cicero must have read Xenophon, for he quotes him frequently in his *Cato Maior* written but a short time before the *Laelius*. What more natural, therefore, than that certain principles which Socrates lays down in his teachings on friendship should have occurred to Cicero when he undertook to write his essay on the same theme?

As to the method of treatment, there is a marked difference between the style of Cicero and that of his Greek prototypes. The Greek philosophers who treated the subject of friendship treated it in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner, including every form of association under the term φιλία. Cicero, on the other hand, showed the true Roman spirit in restricting the content of the term *amicitia* and in discussing the subject from a practical rather than from a theoretical point of view. He employed the term *amicitia* in almost the exact meaning of our word "friendship." Cicero's purpose being to write for general readers only, he does not permit Lælius to spin out any fine philosophical theories as to friendship, such as a Greek writer would have availed himself of a similar opportunity to do, but, like a Roman, represents him as discussing only the practical phases of the subject, its bearing on the actual conditions of life and character.

Aristotelis Ethicon Nicomachorum de amicitia libri, Halle, 1871, seeks to show that Cicero drew directly upon Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and he cites a number of verbal resemblances. But Braxator hardly establishes his case, and he fails to notice the marked points of difference between the Greek and Latin treatises in subject matter and arrangement.

It is evident that Cicero is setting forth largely his own views as he makes Lælius discourse on friendship. Cicero's own experiences in political life had taught him the severe tests to which friendship is sometimes subjected in actual conditions. For many of his friends had proved untrue and deserted him in his times of trouble, especially when the question as to the constitutionality of his action in executing Catiline's accomplices was made an issue. We may readily believe then that, although Lælius is ostensibly discoursing in the *De Amicitia*, it is, in the last analysis, really Cicero himself that is writing out of his own abundant experience of human friendship, its sincerity and genuineness, and also its bitter disappointments resulting from misplaced confidence. However, in the friendship of Scipio and Lælius Cicero depicts the blessings of true friendship based on the ideal Roman qualities of integrity, virtue and loyalty (*constantia*, *virtus*, *fides*). It is these same noble qualities which shine out in his relations with his life-long friend Atticus to whom he addressed his essay on friendship.

10. THE STYLE OF THE LAELIUS

In writing his *Laelius* Cicero adopted certain devices to impart to the dialogue a semblance of reality. To give the treatise the desired colloquial effect, he resorted to frequent use of such rhetorical artifices as repetition, pleonasm and anacoluthon. He also employs archaisms here and there throughout the work, in order to impart to the language an antique flavor and make it reflect the Latinity of the age of Scipio and Lælius. Cicero labored under a handicap, because he had to express certain shades of Greek thought in his native idiom which was naturally poor in philosophical terms. The richness of the Greek language in this particular was in sharp and striking con-

trast with the early poverty of the Latin tongue. For this reason Cicero was under the necessity of having recourse to circumlocutions and paraphrases. He had also to import new terms and locutions, since suitable native Latin words did not exist. Incidentally he greatly augmented and enriched the Latin vocabulary by inventing new expressions in order adequately to set forth the philosophical and ethical ideas of the Greeks he was adapting for Latin readers. Hence the style of the *Laelius*, like that of Cicero's other philosophical works, is quite different from the style of his orations, being less ornate and less polished. Yet even in his *Laelius* Cicero introduces an occasional oratorical turn and shows that the author, after all, is only the advocate turned philosopher for the nonce.

II. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LAELIUS

Among the extant manuscripts of the *Laelius* nine are considered, because of their completeness and general accuracy, as worthy to rank in the first class. Of these six are in Germany, viz. G (*codex Gudianus*) in Wolfenbüttel, written in the tenth century, E (*codex Erfurtensis*) once in Erfurt, now in the Berlin Royal Library, written in the twelfth century, B (*codex Benedictoburanus*) in Munich, written in the twelfth century, S (*codex Salisburgensis*) in Munich, written in the eleventh century, M (*codex Monacensis*) in Munich and P (*codex Parisinus*), formerly in a private library in Paris, but now in Berlin, written about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. Two manuscripts are in Austria, viz. DV (*Vindobonensis*) in Vienna; and one H (*Harleianus*) is in the British Museum, London. Editors are not entirely agreed as to the relative value of these nine manuscripts from which the text of the *Laelius* was derived. Halm places G at the head of the list as the most reliable. But later edi-

tors are disposed to rank P first and C. F. W. Müller even follows the readings of this manuscript in preference to the consensus of all the rest. Nor has it been definitely determined what relation the manuscripts bear to each other. It is generally believed by those who have studied the manuscripts that B, S, V, and G are very closely related and that they go back ultimately to the same source, although G appears to be a century or two older than the others of this group. E and H constitute a second closely related group and P and M a third. But it has not been determined what relation these three groups bear to each other.

In addition to the above mentioned manuscripts of the *Laelius* may be named the Hadoardius collection of excerpts from § 20–§ 102 of the *Laelius*, the two Cornell University manuscripts, the *Codex Laurentianus* L. 45 and the *Codex Admonensis* 383.

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M. TULLI CICERONIS
LAELIUS DE AMICITIA LIBER
AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM

I. 1 Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio socero suo memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem; ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem; itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta memoriae mandabam fierique studebam eius prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad pontificem Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias; nunc redeo ad augurem.

2 Cum saepe multa, tum memini domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum permultis erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, cum is tribunus pl. capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum coniunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel querella. 3 Itaque tum Scaevola cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laeli de amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero, C. Fannio Marci filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Eius

disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo; quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentes, ne *inquam* et *inquit* saepius interponeretur, atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur.

4 Cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est. Itaque feci non invitus, ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone Maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona, quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset, sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laeli et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laeli persona visa est, quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate, et eorum inlustrium, plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis; itaque ipse mea legens sic adficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me loqui existimem. 5 Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior; nunc Laelius et sapiens (sic enim est habitus) et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani; ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipse cognosces.

II. 6 *Fannius.* Sunt ista, Laeli; nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem, sed uterque alio quodam modo, Acilius, quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur, Cato, quia multarum rerum usum habebat; multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur; propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis. 7 Te autem alio quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut vulgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in reliqua Graecia neminem (nam qui septem appellantur, eos, qui ista subtilius quaerunt, in numero sapientium non habent), Athenis unum accepimus, et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum; hanc esse in te sapientiam existumant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevolā, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis, quod proximis Nonis cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut adsolet, venissemus, tu non adfuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

8 *Scaevola.* Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multi, ut est a Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum adverti, te dolorem, quem acceperis cum summi viri, tum amicissimi morte, ferre moderate nec potuisse non commoveri nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae; quod autem Nonis

in conlegio nostro non adfuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.

Laelius. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere; nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi, cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat officii. 9 Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec adgnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone; aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem filii tulit! memineram Paulum, videram Galum, sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. **10** Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit; huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque vestrum loquar, sic habetote:

III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam, viderint sapientes; sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit; sed non egeo medicina, me ipse consolor, et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo, quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto, mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum amantis est. **11** Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, inmortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare? qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute superavit, qui consulatum

petivit numquam, factus consul est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero, qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit. Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnes? nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. **12** Quam ob rem vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere, moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit; quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur, videtis; hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, quom senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. **13** Neque enim adsentior iis, qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri; plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur, vel eorum, qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat, institutis et praeceptis suis eru-

dierunt, vel eius qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, qui non tum hoc, tum illud, uti plerique, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos, iisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere, optimoque et iustissimo cuique expeditissimum. **14** Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica; cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de inmortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optumi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali; sensu enim amisso fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur. **15** Quam ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et, id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae, voluntatum, studiorum, sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam

fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum; quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laeli amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

16 *Fannius.* Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris, spero item Scaevolae, si, quem ad modum soles de ceteris rebus, quom ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existumes, quae praecepta des.

Scaevola. Mihi vero erit gratum; atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevortit. Quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. 17 *Laelius.* Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem; nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum? aut quae est in me facultas? doctorum est ista consuetudo, eaque Graecorum, ut iis ponatur, de quo disputent quamvis subito; magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quam ob rem, quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur; ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. 18 Sed hoc primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse; neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi, qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane; sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus, nos autem ea, quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare de-

bemus. Numquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Quare sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum, concedant, ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient, negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. 19 Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides, integritas, aequitas, liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas, libido, audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnes esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxume accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. 20 Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit, ex hoc intellegi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur.

VI. Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio; qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis inmortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc qui-

dem extremum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. 21 Iam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur virosque bonos eos, qui habentur, numeremus, Paulos, Catones, Galos, Scipiones, Philos; his communis vita contenta est; eos autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. 22 Talis igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita *vitalis*, ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit? Quid dulcius quam habere, quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes, qui illis aeque ac tu ipse gauderet? adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, oportunae sunt singulae rebus fere singulis, divitiae, ut utare, opes, ut colare, honores, ut laudere, voluptates, ut gaudeas, valetudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis; amicitia res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris, praesto est, nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam molesta est; itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, locis pluribus utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de vulgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia et adversas partiens communicansque leviores.

VII. 23 Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum praestat omnibus, quod bonam spem praelucet in posterum nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abundant et imbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictu est, mortui vivunt; tantus eos honos, memoria, desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo illorum beata mors videtur, horum vita laudabilis. Quodsi exemeris ex rerum natura benevolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit everti? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitia, iudicari potest. 24 Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent, quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc quidem omnes mortales et intellegunt et re probant. Itaque, si quando aliquod officium extitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est, qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula! cum ignorante rege, uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudebant in re ficta; quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero iudicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere; si quae praeterea sunt (credo autem esse multa), ab iis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

25 *Fannius.* Nos autem a te potius; quamquam etiam ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem; sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

Scaevola. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, adfuisses. Qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

Fannius. Facile id quidem fuit, iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

Scaevola. Quid? amicitiam nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam maxumam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. 26 *Laelius.* Vim hoc quidem est adferre. Quid enim refert, qua me ratione cogatis? cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est, tum ne aequum quidem obsistere.

Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter inbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab iis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa, in amicitia autem nihil fictum

est, nihil simulatum et, quidquid est, id est verum et voluntarium. 27 Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, adplicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi quam cogitatione, quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate, quae est inter natos et parentes, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest; deinde cum similis sensus extitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. 28 Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil, quod magis adliciat ad diligendum, quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est, qui C. Fabrici, M'. Curi non cum caritate aliqua benevola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit? quis autem est, qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

IX. 29 Quodsi tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto

et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo. Quam si qui putant ab inbecillitate proficisci, ut sit, per quem adsequatur, quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus; quod longe secus est. **30** Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit, et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime hercule! ac ne ego quidem illius; sed ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione fortasse non nulla, quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum spe causae diligendi profectae. **31** Ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam (neque enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus), sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. **32** Ab his, qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt, nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnes cogitationes abiecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi autem intellegamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiae caritatem facta significa-

tione probitatis. Quam qui adpetiverunt, adplicant se et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus sintque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit eius ortus a natura quam ab inbecillitate gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte vultis.

Fannius. Tu vero perge, Laeli; pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

33 *Scaevola.* Recte tu quidem. Quam ob rem audiamus.

X. *Laelius.* Audite vero, optumi viri, ea, quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat, quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae diem permanere. Nam, vel ut non idem expediret, incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiretur; mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga ponerentur; 34 sin autem ad adulescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae condicionis vel commodi alicuius, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quodsi qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam in plerisque

pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae; ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos exstitisse. 35 Magna etiam discidia et plerumque iusta nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis, quod rectum non esset, postularetur, ut aut libidinis ministri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam; quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab iis, quibus obsequi nollent. Illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amica causa esse facturos. Eorum querela inveterata non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed odia etiam gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata inpendere amicitiis, ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. 36 Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? num Vecellinum amici regnum adpetentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare? 37 Tib. quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc, ut sibi ignoscerem, causam adferebat, quod tanti Tib. Gracchum fecisset, ut, quidquid ille vellet, sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego: *Etiamne, si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet? Numquam* inquit *voluisset id quidem; sed si voluisset, paruissem.* Videtis, quam nefaria vox! Et hercule ita fecit vel plus etiam, quam dixit; non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed

ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia quaestione nova perterritus in Asiam profugit, ad hostes se contulit, poenas rei publicae graves iustasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; nam cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. 38 Quodsi rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis, quidquid velint, vel inpetrare ab iis, quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res vitii; sed loquimur de iis amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos vidimus aut de quibus memoria accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxume accedunt. 39 Videmus Papum Aemilium Luscino familiarem fuisse (sic a patribus accepimus), bis una consules, collegas in censura; tum et cum iis et inter se coniunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possumus quemquam horum ab amico quippiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid adtinet dicere, si contendisset, impetraturum non fuisse? cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare. At vero Tib. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tum quidem C. frater nunc idem acerrimus.

XII. 40 Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus,

ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit iam aliquantum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. 41 Tib. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint, sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quoquo modo potuimus, propter recentem poenam Tib. Gracchi sustinuimus; de C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid expectem, non lubet augurari. Serpit clam ea res, quae proclivis ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Videtis, in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quem ad modum haec fiant, quam quem ad modum his resistatur. 42 Quorsum haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in eius modi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re peccantibus non discedant; inprobis autem poena statuenda est, nec vero minor iis, qui secuti erunt alterum, quam iis, qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior? qui cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberavisset propterque invidiam in exilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre debuit, fecit idem, quod xx annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inventus est nemo; itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. 43 Quare talis inproborum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio omni vin-

dicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi; quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit. Mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

XIII. 44 Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus, ne exspectemus quidem, dum rogemur; studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit; consilium verum dare audeamus libere. Plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. 45 Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam (sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis): partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas, cum velis, vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. 46 Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius (quem locum breviter paulo ante perstrinxi) praesidii adiumentique causa, non benivolentiae neque caritatis amicitias esse expetendas; itaque, ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium, ita amicitias adpetere maxime; ex eo fieri, ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri et inopes quam opulenti et calamitosi quam ii, qui putentur beati. 47 O praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e

mundo tollere videntur, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis inmortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quodsi curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia lubidinem, ignaviam fortitudo; itaque videas rebus iniustis iustos maxime dolere, inbellibus fortes, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. 48 Quam ob rem, si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo extirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est, cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt; quae quidem est cum multis in rebus, tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non nullas curas et molestias adferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus adplicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor exoriatur necesse est. 49 Quid enim tam absurdum quam

delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari? Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. **50** Quid, si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse, quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et tam trahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo? concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non enim est inhumana virtus neque inmunis neque superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optume consulere soleat; quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate vulgi abhorreret. **51** Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum, si cum studio est profectum; tantumque abest, ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ii, qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidii, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud sciam an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera nostra nec domi

nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

XV. 52 Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro deorum fidem atque hominum! qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum, in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. 53 Quis enim aut eum diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quodsi forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderunt, tum intellegitur, quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, cum iam neutris gratiam referre posset. 54 Quamquam miror, illa superbia et inportunitate si quemquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles. Non enim solum ipsa Fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos, quos conplexa est; itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, nec quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerint moribus, imperio, potestate, prosperis rebus inmutari, sperni ab iis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. 55 Quid autem stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis, facultatibus, opibus possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos, famulos, vestem egregiam, vasa

pretiosa, amicos non parare, optumam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? etenim cetera cum parant, cui parent, nesciunt, nec cuius causa laborent (eius enim est istorum quidque, qui vicit viribus), amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio; ut, etiamsi illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona Fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

XVI. **56** Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tres video sententias ferri, quarum nullam probo, unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum adfecti simus, quo erga nosmet ipsos, alteram, ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat, tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. **57** Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus adsentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad modum in se quisque sit, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum! precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut iis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. **58** Altera sententia est, quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare restricte, ne plus reddat quam acceperit; neque enim veren-

dum est, ne quid excidat, aut ne quid in terram defluat, aut ne plus aequo quid in amicitiam congeratur. **59** Tertius vero ille finis deterrumus, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque *in* spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius, quid maxume reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, dixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quem ad modum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ei, cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare, ut quam saepissime peccet amicus, quo plures det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehendendum; rursum autem recte factis commodisque amicorum necesse erit angi, dolere, invidere. **60** Quare hoc quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam amicitiam valet; illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin etiam, si minus felices in diligendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. **61** His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium

rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut, etiamsi qua fortuna acciderit ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates adiuvandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur; est enim, quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero neglegenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium; quam blanditiis et adsentando colligere turpe est; virtus, quam sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est.

62 Sed (saepe enim redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia) querebatur, quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores essent; capras et oves quot quisque haberet, dicere posse, amicos quot haberet, non posse dicere, et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in amicis eligendis neglegentis esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitias essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles et constantes eligendi; cuius generis est magna penuria. Et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum; experiendum autem est in ipsa amicitia. Ita praecurrit amicitia iudicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. **63** Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae, quo utamur quasi equis temptatis, sic amicitia ex aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves, quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin erunt aliqui reperti, qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores, magistratus, imperia, potestates, opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut,

cum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Inbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam; quam etiamsi neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. 64 Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in iis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur; ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates! ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quamquam Ennius recte:

Amícus certus ín re incerta cérnitur,

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt. XVIII. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem, constantem, stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

65 Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides; nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est qui rebus isdem moveatur, eligi par est, quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem; neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet

dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia: primum ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam; deinde non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum semper aliquid existimantem ab amico esse violatum. **66** Accedat huc suavitas quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

XIX. **67** Existit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio subdifficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus. Indigna homine dubitatio! Non enim debent esse amicitiarum sicut aliarum rerum satietates; veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina, quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debet suavissima; verumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. **68** Novitates autem si spem afferunt, ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae, vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda; maxima est enim vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin in ipso equo, cuius modo feci mentionem, si nulla res impediat, nemo est, quin eo, quo consuevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo. Nec vero in hoc, quod est animal, sed in iis etiam, quae sunt inanima, consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

69 Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori. Saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis, Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnes per se posse esse ampliores volebat. 70 Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis, ingenii, fortunae consecuti sint, inpertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis, ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliore vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati. Ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerint. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingenii et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maxumus capitur, cum in proxumum quemque confertur.

XX. 71 Ut igitur ii, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant, quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere. Odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is, in quem conlata sunt, non commemorare, qui contulit. 72 Quam ob rem, ut ii, qui superiores sunt, sum-

mittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant; quod non fere contingit nisi iis, qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur; qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam opera levandi sunt. **73** Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam quantum ille, quem diligas atque adiuves, sustinere. Non enim neque tu possis, quamvis excellas, omnes tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere, ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit consulem efficere, fratrem eius L. non potuit. Quodsi etiam possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen, quid ille possit sustinere.

74 Omnino amicitiae conroboratis iam confirmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec, si qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praeditos dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi iure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt; qui neglegendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo *aestimandi*. Aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non possunt. Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias; nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque distantia. **75** Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis, ne intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam, Troiam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem, apud quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem audire voluisset.

Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut discedendum sit ab amicis; quas qui impedire vult, quod desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus. 76 Atque in omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico et quid patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis non numquam necessaria; iam enim a sapientium familiaritatibus ad vulgares amicitias oratio nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit, ut non statim alienatio disiunctioque faciunda sit. 77 Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit (loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapientium, sed de communibus amicitiis), cavendum erit, ne non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae susceptae videantur. Nihil enim est turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompei meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello; utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate et offensione animi non acerba. 78 Quam ob rem primum danda opera est, ne qua amicorum discidia fiant; sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut extinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur.

Cavendum vero, ne etiam in graves inimicitias convertant se amicitiae; ex quibus iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae gignuntur. Quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt, et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit, qui faciat, non is, qui patiatur iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. 79 Digni autem sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa, cur diligantur. Rarum genus. Et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire, quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt, nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maxumum fructum esse capturos. 80 Ita pulcherrima illa et maxume naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetita nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit. Ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se sibi quisque carus est. Quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur; est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem. 81 Quodsi hoc apparet in bestiis, volucribus, nantibus, agrestibus, cicuribus, feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant (id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur), deinde ut requirant atque adpetant, ad quas se adplicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciunt cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura! qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirit, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus.

XXII. 82 Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam inpudenter, habere talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt, quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab iis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benevolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus iis, quibus ceteri serviunt, imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt, omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet, neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maxumum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. 83 Itaque in iis perniciosus est error, qui existumant lubidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam; virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea, quae summa sunt, pervenire, coniuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret. Quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optumus beatissimusque comitatus. 84 Haec est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant homines expetenda, honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas, ut et, cum haec adsint, beata vita sit et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optumum maxumumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus; ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. 85 Quocirca (dicendum est enim saepius), cum iudicaris, diligere oportet,

non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis et diligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione disrumpimus.

XXIII. 86 Quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cuius utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt. Quamquam a multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur; multi divitias despiciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat; honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius existiment! itemque cetera, quae quibusdam admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent; de amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ii, qui ad rem publicam se contulerunt, et ii, qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur, et ii, qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi, postremo ii, qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. 87 Serpit enim nescio quo modo per omnium vitas amicitia nec ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui. Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et inmanitate naturae, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale posset contingere, ut aliquis nos deus ex hac

hominum frequentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus, qui eam vitam ferre posset, cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? 88 Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: *si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore; quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui narraret, habuisset.* Sic natura solitarium nihil amat semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum adnititur; quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret, quid velit, anquirat, desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo modo nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae, multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre sapientis est; una illa sublevanda offensio est, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benevole fiunt. 89 Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obséquium amicos, véritas odiúm parit.

Molesta veritas, siquidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae, sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit; maxuma autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio inpellitur. Omni igitur hac in re ha-

benda ratio et diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut obiurgatio contumelia careat; in obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, adsentatio, vitiorum adiutrix, procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur. **90** Cuius autem aures clausae veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis ut multa: *melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam.* Atque illud absurdum, quod ii, qui monentur, eam molestiam, quam debent capere, non capiunt, eam capiunt, qua debent vacare; peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste ferunt; quod contra oportebat, delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

XXV. **91** Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam in amicitiis pestem esse maiorem quam adulationem, blanditiam, adsentationem; quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium ad voluntatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. **92** Cum autem omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est (tollit enim iudicium veri idque adulterat), tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus, qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius, commutabilis, multiplex? **93** Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sen-

sum ac voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum convertitur?

Négat quis, nego ; aït, áio ; postremo ímperavi egomét mihi
Ómnia adsentári,

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona, quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. 94 Multi autem Gnathonum similes cum sint loco, fortuna, fama superiores, horum est adsentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas. 95 Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est adsentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem, et severum et gravem. 96 Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos; sed nihil de me, de Scipione dicam lubentius. Quanta illi, di inmortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed adfuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque ut ad me redeam, meministis, Q. Maxumo, fratre Scipionis, et L. Mancino consulibus quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licini Crassi videbatur! cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur; atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum inmortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me quinquennio ante, quam consul sum factus; ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. 97 Quodsi in scaena, id est in contione, in qua rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet; si modo id patefactum et inlustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? in qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum, id quam vere fiat, ignores. Quamquam ista adsentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit, ut is adsentatoribus patefaciat aures suas maxime, qui ipse sibi adsentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. 98 Omnino est amans sui virtus; optume enim se ipsa novit, quamque amabilis sit, intellegit. Ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non vult, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnás vero agere grátias Thaís mihi?

Satis erat respondere: '*magnas*'; '*ingentes,*' inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum. 99 Quam ob rem, quamquam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam adlectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant, ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors; callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est; nec enim facillime adgnos-

citur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe assentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui illusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius quam illudi? Quod ut ne accidat, magis cavendum est.

Ut me hódie ante omnes cómicos stultós senes
Versáris atque inlússeris lautíssume.

100 Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est inprovidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est sapientium (de hac dico sapientia, quae videtur in hominem cadere posse), ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam ob rem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia; quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem aspexit adgnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est; ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia; utrumque enim dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum diligere, quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate quaesita; quae tamen ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiamsi tu eam minus secutus sis. 101 Hac nos adulescentes benevolentia senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Galum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, Scipionis nostri socerum, dileximus, haec etiam magis elucet inter aequales, ut inter me et Scipionem L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium. Vicissim autem senes in adulescentium caritate adquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutili, A. Vergini familiaritate delector. Quoniamque

ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia *ex alia* aetas oriatur, maxume quidem optandum est, ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. **102** Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt, quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur; caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet; virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae extincta non est; nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam animo aut spe maiora suscipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet. **103** Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo, quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil audivi ex eo ipse, quod nollem; una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. **104** Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi? in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus. Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa extincta sunt aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen affert mihi aetas ipsa solacium. Diutius enim iam

in hoc desiderio esse non possum. Omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiamsi magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem. Vos autem hortor, ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

Occasional references are made to the grammars of Gildersleeve (G.); Allen and Greenough (A. & G.); Bennett (B.); Harkness (H.); and Lane (L.).

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER I

§ 1. 1. **Q. Mucius:** see Introduction, 5 (b). **augur:** The board of augurs originally consisted of three members, but was gradually increased till during the last days of the Republic, say, in the times of Cæsar and Cicero, there were sixteen members. The augurs wielded a great influence in the Roman state, and not infrequently used their power to advance the projects of unscrupulous men. For the augurs had the authority and power to defer indefinitely any proposed action by declaring the auguries unfavorable. The celestial phenomena were often observed to determine the auguries. The auguries were also determined by the flight or note of birds and by the action of such other animals as were ordinarily employed in taking the auspices. For the manner of taking the auspices, see Smith's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, or Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*. The order *Q. Mucius augur* is normal and serves to distinguish the two Scævolas.

2. **memoriter et iucunde:** "with accurate memory and in an entertaining manner." **solebat:** by the rhetorical figure conjunctio, *solebat* is placed between the two infinitives which depend upon it. **nec dubitare:** = *et solebat non dubitare. Dubitare* followed by an infinitive, as here, is generally rendered "to hesitate"; when the verb is negatived, the regular construction is *quin* with the subjunctive. See G. 555, 2, R. 1, 2, 3; L. 1987.

3. **omni sermone:** "every conversation." *Sermo* signifies a dialogue or conversation; *colloquium* an informal talk; *oratio* a formal speech or oration. However, this distinction is not invariably observed. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 62, *Sed in omni oratione*, where *oratio* is employed synonymously with *sermo*. **sapientem:** see Introduction, 5. **autem:** a weak adversative particle, used sometimes, as here, to call up something momentarily overlooked.

4. **ita:** explained by the following purpose clause *ut . . . discederem*. **deductus ad Scaevolam:** "had been introduced to Scævola on the understanding that," etc. It was a common practice to attach a young Roman for a period of a year or longer to some distinguished jurist, orator, or general for professional training. Cf. Tac., *Dial.* 34; Quint. 12, 11, 6. This period of training was called *tirocinium*, i. e. apprenticeship. **sumpta virili toga:** on com-

pleting his sixteenth year the Roman youth put aside his purple-bordered boy's toga (*toga praetexta*) and donned the plain white *toga* (*toga virilis*), worn by men. The ceremony took place at the feast of the Liberalia, celebrated on 17 March; and all the young men who had reached their sixteenth year during the preceding twelve months were permitted to participate. The order *virili toga*, instead of the usual *toga virili*, serves to emphasize more strongly the contrast with the boy's *toga praetexta*. Cf. l. 415, *praetexta toga*.

5. **quoad possem et liceret**: subjunctive by attraction. *Posset* has reference to Cicero directly; *liceret* implies that the old age of Scævola rendered Cicero's privileges of uncertain continuance. Cf. Cic., *Leg*. 2, 19, *quoad posset, quoad fas esset, quoad liceret.* **ut . . . numquam discederem**: instead of the usual *ne . . . umquam*; "in order that I might be always near, etc." This figure is called litotes.

6. **multa . . . dicta**: many perfect participles in Latin, though modified by adjectives, still have the force of substantives, as here. Translate: "many of his wise discussions, many also of his brief and pithy sayings I used to learn by heart." *Breviter* has reference to the speaker, *commode* to the hearer.

8. **prudentia**: not "wisdom" in general, but rather "skill" in the Roman law. **Quo mortuo**: "Now when he died." Note the characteristic fondness of the Latin for a relative at the beginning of a sentence, which is contrary to the genius of the English tongue. By resolving the relative into a conjunction and a demonstrative the harshness of the construction may be toned down.

9. **pontificem Scaevolam**: *pontificem* precedes in order to emphasize the contrast with the augur Q. Mucius Scævola who had the identical name. Elected consul in 95 B. C., he was later appointed Pontifex Maximus and was a victim of the Marian proscription in 82 B. C. He was highly esteemed as a jurist. On the duties and influence of the pontiffs, see article *Pontifex* in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, also Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. 1, chap. 12. **me . . . contuli**: contrast with *a patre deductus eram*, above. **unum . . . praestantissimum**: emphatic use of *unum* with the superlative to heighten the effect. Cf. Cic., *Tusc*. 2, 64; 4, 55; 5, 66; also Verg., *Aen*. 2, 426, *cadit et Rhipeus iustissimus unus.* **nostrae civitatis**: the possessive adjective regularly follows the substantive it modifies. When it precedes, it is only for contrast or emphasis, as here. The implied contrast is with the rest of the world, especially Greece.

11. **Sed de hoc alias**: sc. *dicam*. The ellipsis of the verb is of course common enough. Note that *alias* in best prose usage is equivalent to *alio tempore*, not *alio modo*, or *alio loco*; and it usually refers to the future, though not so in l. 412.

§ 2. 12. **Cum . . . tum**: "while . . . yet especially." **multa**: sc. *eum dicere memini*. Observe that *multa* here is equivalent to *multa alia*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 82. **memini**: used both with the present and with the perfect infinitive. The rule is, if the narrator is an eye-witness, he may use the present infinitive or participle to bring vividly before his mind the attendant circumstances of an event; if, on the other hand, he wishes simply to recall the fact that the event took place, he employs the perfect infinitive. If the narrator is not an eye-witness, the perfect infinitive only should be used. See G. 281, 2, note. **hemicyclio**: "a semicircle" (ἡμικύκλιον), a semicircular bench used for conversation or teaching, and placed usually in public parks or private gardens, or along public walks for weary travelers. The shape enabled the company to see each other's faces during the conversation, or in the case of teaching, to behold the face of the teacher who occupied the central seat.

14. **admodum**: (*ad*+*modum*, "to a degree") "a very few"; modifies *pauci*, and placed out of its normal position for emphasis. Cicero usually writes *admodum pauci*; but see l. 188, *gratum admodum*. **eum sermonem qui**: = *sermonem de ea re quae*. Cf. l. 20, *eam mentionem*; also l. 983, *illam admirationem*.

15. **profecto**: (*pro-factum*) "perfectly." The vowel of *profectum* is weakened from *a* to *e*, under the loss of accent, which once rested on the prefix. Cf. *conficio* (*con-facio*).

16. **Attice**: see Introduction, 3. Note that in classical prose the vocative is ordinarily injected, i. e., it does not stand at the beginning, as it usually does in poetry. Cf. ll. 54, 79, 86, etc. **P. Sulpicio utebare multum**: "you were much in the company of Publius Sulpicius." Publius Sulpicius Rufus (124–88 B. C.), highly esteemed as an orator, was at first an ardent supporter of the aristocratic party, but later became an avowed follower of Marius and consequently an opponent of Sulla. As plebeian tribune, in 88 B. C., and a partisan of Marius, he proposed certain revolutionary measures which cost him his life. For when Sulla entered Rome in triumph, he had Sulpicius, who had opposed him so strenuously, put to death. Cicero speaks in high terms of Sulpicius as an orator (*Brutus*, 203) and introduces him as one of the speakers in his *De Oratore*. **is tribunus plebis**: "he as tribune." The tribunes, especially the plebeian tribunes, were invested with almost unlimited power and their persons were sacred and inviolable. They held the power of veto over an act of the senate, or of any magistrate including even the consul, and could block any proposed legislation and prevent the holding of elections. For a detailed account of their powers and duties, see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, or Harper's *Dict. of Classical Lit. and Antiquities*.

17. **capitali odio**: "deadly hatred." In civil law *capitalis* refers to such crimes as may be punished with the loss of *citizenship*, — civil rights. **Q. Pompeio**: consul in the year 88 B. C. A zealous supporter of the aristocratic party, he vigorously opposed the measures introduced by Sulpicius, his former friend. These men were therefore the official leaders of opposite political parties, — the Marian and the Sullan party. **quocum**: ordinarily refers to some specific person; *quicum* is indefinite. **quanta esset**: note the secondary sequence due probably to the influence of the intervening secondary tenses, *erat, dissideret, vixerat.*

19. **vel admiratio vel querella**: note that *vel* (*velle*, "to wish") as a disjunctive conjunction gives a choice, whereas *aut* excludes.

§ 3. 20. **tum . . . incidisset**: *tum* not correlative with *cum* here; "having happened to mention that particular fact," *viz.* the rupture between Sulpicius and Pompeius, which suggested to Scævola the general subject of friendship. **eam ipsam mentionem**: = *eius dissensionis mentionem.* Cf. l. 14, *in eum sermonem.*

21. **Laeli de amicitia**: see Introduction, 5 (a).

22. **secum et cum**: cf. l. 18, *quocum*; also l. 125, *mecum et cum Scipione.* **C. Fannio**: C., abbreviation for Gaius, just as Cn. is an abbreviation for Gnaeus. In the early period the Latin alphabet contained only one symbol, C, for K and G both. After the introduction of G, the Romans continued to write C. for Gaius and Cn. for Gnaeus. For a sketch of Fannius, see the Introduction, 5 (c).

23. **Africani**: see the Introduction, 6. His death took place in the year 129 B. C., which gives the date of this imaginary conversation.

24. **sententias**: i. e., the principal points of the discourse, though not the actual words.

25. **hoc libro**: note the omission of the preposition *in*, the idea of means predominating over that of place. Among the ancient Romans books were quite unlike modern books, being made of a roll of papyrus which was used for writing material. The writing was in columns at right angles to the length of the roll, and the reader unrolled and rolled as he read. The title of the book was written upon a tag fastened to the end of the piece of wood (*umbilicus*) around which the volume was rolled. Later, parchment came into use and displaced the papyrus roll. For a detailed account of the ancient method of book making, see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, or Harper's *Dict. of Classical Lit. and Antiquities.* **arbitratu meo**: "at my own discretion." **quasi . . . loquentes**: "I have introduced them as speaking in person, as it were." *Quasi* tones down the intensive *ipsos* and apologizes for the bold figure drawn from the stage.

26. **ne 'inquam' et 'inquit'**: a close imitation of the introduction of Plato's *Theaetetus*. **saepius**: "so often."

27. **coram**: adverb here, not a preposition, strengthening the preceding *a praesentibus*. *Coram* is sparingly used as a preposition till the time of Tacitus, but he employs it freely with prepositional force.

§ 4. 29. **mecum**: note the inelegant repetition of **cum** in this sentence. But Cicero offers several parallels to this. Cf. *Ad Fam.* 9, 6, 3; *Pro Balbo* 1, 3. **mecum ageres**: "pleaded with me." *Agere cum populo* (*senatu*) was used technically of a magistrate who brought business before the people or the senate for action. Cf. l. 1061, *agere cum populo*.

30. **cum . . . tum**: = *et . . . et*, as in l. 12.

32. **feci . . . ut prodessem**: a paraphrase which is a favorite with Cicero. Cf. *In Vatin.* 9, 21, *invitus facio ut recordor; Cato Maior*, § 42, *invitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem.* **Non invitus**: understatement, technically called *litotes*. See G. 700. **Catone Maiore**: Cicero's essay on Old Age which he published during the year 44 B. C., only a short while before the *Laelius*. See Introduction, 2.

33. **scriptus ad te**: "dedicated to you." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 1, *Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere.* **Catonem**: M. Porcius Cato (234 B. C.–149 B. C.) was a typical Roman of Republican times who embodied in his rugged character the stern virtues of his race. He held all the offices in the state and retained his mental and physical powers in full vigor even to his old age and was familiarly known as Cato the censor. He wrote a treatise on agriculture (*de Re Rustica*) and a kind of history, entitled the *Origines*, which he finished in his old age. He set himself in opposition to the permeating influence of Greek literature, but at last yielded by beginning the study of Greek, it is said, when he was already 80 years old. His life and character produced an elevating and abiding impression upon his nation. For this reason Cicero selects him for the chief speaker in his essay and presents him in the year before his death discussing old age with his young friends Scipio and Lælius. See *Cato Maior*, Introduction.

34. **induxi . . . persona**: both words drawn from the stage. *Inducere* means "to bring upon the stage"; *persona* signifies primarily "an actor's mask," then "a rôle" or "a character," as here. Cf. l. 1040, *in Gnathonis persona*; also l. 1105, *Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvidorum et credulorum senum.*

35. **de illa aetate**: i. e. old age. **diutissime**: Cato was 85 years old at his death and since a man at 60 would ordinarily be classed as *senex*, he must therefore have been regarded as *senex* already for a quarter of a century.

36. **floruisset**: since Cicero uses *vigere* in the sense of "preserving one's physical and mental powers," *floruisset* must refer to Cato's worldly prosperity. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 8, where Cato's influence, wealth and station are clearly indicated. **praeter ceteros**: "beyond all others." The student should distinguish between *ceteri*, *reliqui* and *alii*.

37. **accepissemus a patribus**: probably better to interpret literally. For Atticus and Cicero, who were born in 109 B. C. and in 106 B. C., respectively, might very well have heard their fathers speak of the famous example of friendship of Lælius and Scipio, especially as Scipio did not die till 129 B. C. **maxime memorabilem**: adjectives in *bilis* rarely exhibit a superlative; and hence *maxime* is employed to form the superlative in such cases. The comparatives of such adjectives are of frequent occurrence, as *laudabilior*, *flebilior*, *probabilior*, etc. Yet a few superlatives occur, as *amabilissimum* (l. 596), *mobilissimum*, *stabilissimum* and *mirabilissimum*.

38. **P. Scipionis**: see Introduction, 6.

39. **dissereret**: *disserere* signifies "to expound," "to discuss," etc.

40. **disputata**: used to supply the place of a perf. pass. part., which *disserere* lacks. The signification here is "to maintain or defend an opinion." **genus hoc sermonum**: *sermones huius generis*, "discourses of this kind," — hypallage. Cf. l. 129, *quo de genere mortis*; l. 1040, *quod amici genus*.

41. **veterum**: "men of a former age." What is the distinction between *vetus* and *antiquus*? **auctoritate**: "influence," as usual.

42. **nescio quo pacto**: "somehow," with adverbial force and consequently without influence upon the mood of *videtur*. Cf. *nescio quo modo*, *videlicet* (*videre-licet*), *scilicet* (*scire-licet*), etc.

43. **mea**: sc. *scripta*. Cf. *Acad.* 1, 8, *nihil magnopere meorum miror*.

44. **Catonem**: in the *Cato Maior*, of course.

§ 5. 45. **senem senex**: observe the fondness of the Latin, as illustrated in this passage, for bringing into juxtaposition words of kindred origin and sound. Cf. l. 310, *iustitiam iustissimo*. Cicero was 62 years old when he wrote his essay on Old Age and Atticus was 65. **hoc libro**: this corresponds to *tum* in the preceding clause. We should rather have expected *nunc*, as below *tum . . . nunc*.

47. **senior . . . prudentior . . . sapiens . . . amicitiae gloria excellens**: observe the order of the words, *sapiens* corresponding to *prudentior* and *amicitiae gloria excellens* to *senior*. This rhetorical figure is termed *chiasmus*. Cf. l. 277, *beata mors . . . vita laudabilis*. **senior temporis illis**: the conversation of the *De Senectute* is supposed to occur the year before Cato's death, i. e. 150 B. C. **prudentior**: "wiser." Cf. note on *prudentia*, l. 8.

48. sapiens: refers to Lælius's fondness for philosophy.

49. Tu velim . . . avertas . . . putes: *velim* is a polite expression, a mild command, not so peremptory as *volo*. It is perhaps best to interpret *avertas* and *putes* as dependent upon *velim*. See G. 532, R. 3; B. 296, 1, *a*; A. & G. 565 and N. 1; H. 565, 2. Note that the subject of the dependent verb in such cases, if expressed, precedes the verb *velim*, as here. Cf. *Tusc.* 5, 20, *nos vellem praemio elicere possemus;* also *Ad Fam.* 15, 3, 2. Observe, too, the omission of the conjunction, — asyndeton — to connect the two clauses. This is quite common, especially when the clauses are contrasted, as in the present passage. Cf. below, *ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius;* also ll. 139, 213, etc.

50. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius: see Introduction, 5 (b) and (c).

53. te ipse cognosces: the intensive as usual is made to agree with the subject rather than with the object of the verb. There is an implied contrast between the subject of the verb and other persons, and the sense is, "you as well as others will recognize your own likeness." Cf. l. 105, *me ipse consolor ;* also l. 899, *ipse enim se quisque diligit.*

CHAPTER II

§ 6. **54. sunt ista**: "what you have said is true," in reference to some remark Lælius made eulogizing Africanus. *sunt ista = sunt ista vera.* The pronoun *iste* is of frequent occurrence in conversation, especially in reply to a remark just made. Cf. ll. 87 and 180; also *Cato Maior*, § 8, *Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaqum in isto sunt omnia.*

55. existimare . . . existimant: note the repetition, which appears to be a mark of carelessness.

56. oculos in te esse coniectos unum: "that the eyes of all are fixed upon you"; i. e., to observe how you bear the death of Africanus.

57. hoc: i. e., reputation for wisdom. **modo**: "a short time ago," — a rather lax use of the expression, inasmuch as the conversation is supposed to have taken place twenty years perhaps after the death of Cato in 149 B. C. For a similar use of *nuper*, see ll. 137 and 293.

58. L. Acilium: a contemporary of Cato, though older. He is commonly identified with the commentator on the Twelve Tables mentioned in Cicero's *De Legibus*, 2, 23, 59.

59. uterque: sc. *saepius appellabatur.* Also see below, l. 64, *Te autem*, etc. **alio quodam modo**: "in a somewhat different manner." The use of *quodam* tones down the statement in a measure. *Tamquam, quasi, ut ita dicam* and other similar expressions are often

employed to soften a harsh metaphor, or to indicate that the adjectives they modify are not to be taken in their literal and unqualified meaning.

60. **multarum rerum usum**: "a manifold experience." Cato was a man of broad and varied experience, having been in succession farmer, soldier, lawyer, orator, statesman and author. Cf. Quint., *Instit. Orat.* 12, 11, 23, (*Cato*) *idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem orator, idem historiae conditor, idem iuris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit*; also Livy, 39, 40, *nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei* (*Catoni*) *defuit.*

61. **multa eius . . . ferebantur**: "many instances were current where both in the senate and in the forum he exhibited either wise foresight, or resolute conduct, or rendered clear decisions in legal matters." The prominent idea in *responsa* is the reference to Cato's fame as a lawyer, while the other two references are to his ability as senator and orator. See the significance of *ius respondere* in the Lexicon.

63. **quasi**: "almost." Cf. l. 25, *quasi*. **iam**: "already," i. e. even before his death. **cognomen sapientis**: "the surname the Wise." *Sapientis* is, of course, a Gen. of Apposition. Note that the Latin idiom is always an appositional genitive where the English idiom requires apposition simply, as *nomen iustitiae*, "the name justice," *virtus continentiae*, "the virtue of self-control," *vox voluptatis*, "the word pleasure," *appellatio prudentis*, "the title skillful," etc. Cf. l. 1029, *nomen amicitiae*; also *De Fin.* 2, 24, 78. See G. 361, 1.

§ 7. 64. **Te autem**: this clause apparently depends upon *existimant*, below. The author seems to have lost sight of *Te* in the long and involved sentence and left it without syntactical connection with the rest of the clause. Thus the clause is not finished as begun, and the construction is changed, — a figure called anacoluthon. After the pause at *iudicatum*, Cicero recapitulates, making *hanc esse in te sapientiam* the object of *existimant.*

65. **natura et moribus . . . studio et doctrina**: the former pair denotes character, the latter natural powers. *Natura et moribus* = "natural endowments"; *studio et doctrina* = "acquirements." Consult the Lexicon. Cf. *Pro Arch.* 15, *ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine doctrina naturae ipsius habitu . . . gravis exstitisse fateor*, etc.; also Vergil, *Georg.* 4, 5, *mores et studia.*

66. **vulgus**: i. e. the unlearned as distinguished from the scholars (*eruditi*). Cf. Hor., *Car.* 3, 1, *Odi profanum vulgus.*

67. **reliqua Graecia**: i. e. as opposed to Athens (*Athenis*). The word is proleptic and the thought is held in suspense till *Athenis* which completes the contrast is reached.

68. **septem**: sc. *sapientes*. Cf. § 59, *unus e septem*. The Seven

Sages of Greece, who flourished B. C. 620–B. C. 550, usually mentioned are: Cleobulus, tyrant of Lindus in Rhodes ("Moderation is the chief good"); Periander, tyrant of Corinth, 668–584 B. C. ("Forethought in all things"); Pittacus of Mitylene, born about 650 B. C., deliverer and *aesymnetes* of his native city ("Know thine opportunity"); Bias of Priene in Caria, about 570 B. C. ("Too many workers spoil the work"); Thales of Miletus, 639–536 B. C. ("To be surety brings ruin"); Chilon of Sparta ("Know thyself"); Solon of Athens ("Nothing in excess"). — Harper's *Dict. of Classical Literature and Antiquities.* **subtilius**: "with more than usual acuteness."

69. **non habent**: Cicero, in his *De Officiis* (3, 16), withholds the title *sapiens* both from the Seven Sages and from Cato and Lælius also. **unum**: "one only." Cicero does not usually express the English "only," and when he does, he employs *modo*, as a rule.

70. **Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum**: according to the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Nubes*, 114, the oracle said:

σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης,
ἀνδρῶν δ' ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Let the pupil find out why Socrates was declared the wisest of men.

72. **omnia tua in te posita esse**: the teaching of the Stoics that virtue is the only good and that happiness is entirely independent of and unaffected by external circumstances. It remained to be seen whether Lælius, upon the death of Cato, would reduce his philosophy to actual practice and appear indifferent to the death of his friend.

73. **virtute inferiores**: "of less importance than virtue."

74. **credo**: simply parenthetic and therefore without influence upon the construction. **hoc . . . Scaevola**: sc. *quaerunt.* Translate: "no doubt they inquire likewise of Scævola here." **quonam pacto**: = *quonam modo. Nam* is simply intensive, reënforcing *quo.* **eoque magis**: sc. *quaerunt.*

75. **proximis**: "the last"; lit., the nearest, whether of the past or the future. The augurs met regularly on the Nones.

76. **hortos**: "the grounds," "pleasure gardens," such as afforded an unobstructed view of the heavens. **D. Bruti**: Decimus Junius Brutus, consul in 138 B. C., and surnamed Gallæcus, in honor of his conquest of the Gælici in Spain. **commentandi causa**: "for the purpose of deliberating," i. e. upon the auspices. The common meaning of *commentari* is "to con over a lesson."

77. **qui . . . solitus esses**: "though you had been accustomed"; concessive Rel.

78. **diem . . . obire**: "to keep an appointment." Observe the zeugma, where *obire* has to do duty for two verbs.

§ 8. 79. **Quidem:** hardly to be translated, its function being to emphasize *quaerunt*. **C. Laelius:** the prænomen which is not regularly employed is added here to give formality to the address. Cf. l. 1111, *C. Fanni et tu Q. Muci*.

80. **animum adverti:** *animum advertere* and *animadvertere* have very much the same signification and use. *Animum advertere* is employed especially when the sense is to turn the attention to something (*ad aliquid*).

81. **dolorem:** "grief." Distinguish between *dolor*, *maeror* and *luctus*. See Lexicon. **cum . . . tum:** = *et . . . et*. Note the figure *coniunctio*, and see note on l. 2, *solebat*.

82. **moderate:** the Stoics maintained that it was a mark of weakness to give expression to the ordinary emotions and that grief, for example, must be borne without any demonstration. Cf. l. 101, *Ego si . . . mentiar ; Tusc. Disp.* 4, 42. **nec potuisse . . . humanitatis tuae:** "that you could not help being affected and it was not in keeping with your refined nature not to be affected." *Humanitatis*, like *amantis* (l. 109), is a predicate genitive of characteristic, and the conjunction *nec* has almost the force of an adversative.

83. **quod . . . adfuisses:** "as to your absence from our college on the Nones." The mood is subjunctive because of the implied indirect discourse.

84. **valetudinem:** "health." In Latin, as in English, the word health takes its color from the context; and unless modified by *bona*, *valetudo* ordinarily denotes poor health.

86. **Recte tu quidem:** sc. *respondes*. *Quidem* modifies the entire sentence, not simply *tu*. **nec enim . . . officio:** observe the unswerving devotion to duty as here expressed in the speech of Lælius, a typical Roman. It was this characteristic of the Romans that explains the secret of their national greatness. *Officium*, "duty," here corresponds to *munus* in the speech of Fannius above, just as in the same speech *usurpavi* corresponds to *obire*. *Usurpare* = "to perform an obligation or duty."

88. **hoc:** explained by the clause *ut . . . fiat*. **constanti homini:** "to a man of strong character." The principal qualities in the ideal Roman character were *gravitas constantiaque*. Cf. l. 1093, *graviores constantioresque*.

89. **contingere:** contrary to its ordinary meaning *contingere* is here used of "bad fortune." The traditional distinction restricts *contingere* to "good fortune," and *accidere* and *evenire* to "bad fortune," but this distinction needs to be modified. In best usage *contingere* denotes whatever happens naturally, or as might be expected, under the circumstances. Cf. *De Natura Deorum* 1, 27, *non vidit, cum miseri*

animi essent, quod plerisque contingeret, tum dei partem esse miseram; also *Laelius*, ll. 575 and 823.

§ 9. 90. **tantum tribui**: i. e. by the public generally.

91. **adgnosco**: sc. *mihi tribui*. As a rule, *adgnoscere* denotes subjective knowledge, *cognoscere* objective knowledge. See the Lexicon. **facis amice**: "you are very kind," a polite term of thanks, like *bene facis*. **ut mihi videris**: the Latin idiom, unlike the English, here prefers the personal construction. Cf. *Ad Att.* 5, 18, 2, *consiliis, ut videmur, bonis utimur;* also *Cato Maior*, § 2, *tu occurrebas dignus eo munere.*

92. **nemo**: sc. *sapiens fuit*. The Stoics endowed their ideal "*sapiens*" with such superior qualities that he could never be found in real life. Cf. l. 202, and also *Tusc. Disput.* 2, 51, *in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia, quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem.*

93. **quisquam**: cf. l. 55, *quisquam;* and l. 625, *miror, si quemquam amicum habere potuit*. There is of course an implied doubt that no such person ever really existed in the flesh.

94. **ut alia omittam**: "not to mention proofs of his wisdom," — a parenthetic purpose clause which does not depend upon *tulit*. **mortem fili**: Cato's son, M. Porcius Cato, made a brilliant record as a soldier, under L. Æmilius Paulus, his father-in-law, in the Macedonian campaign. He afterwards achieved distinction as a jurist and died prætor-elect in the year 152 B. C. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 84. **memineram Paulum**: L. Æmilius Paulus (230–160 B. C.) was consul in 182 B. C. and again in 168 B. C. and censor in the year 160. He defeated Perseus, king of Macedon, at Pydna, in 168 B. C. This achievement was celebrated with a grand triumph the year following. Of his two sons, twelve and fourteen years old respectively, one died five days before the triumph and the other three days after.

95. **videram Galum**: Gaius Sulpicius Galus was a man of culture and an eminent astronomer. According to Cicero's statement, he was without a peer as a Greek scholar. He served as military tribune under Paulus in the campaign against Perseus and predicted an eclipse of the moon before the battle of Pydna, which is alleged to have saved the Roman army from panic. He was consul in 166 B. C. During that same year his son died, but he sustained his loss with marked fortitude. **in pueris**: "in the case of boys." Cf. l. 199, *in bonis;* l. 297, *in re ficta;* l. 317, *in re bona;* l. 489, *in P. Scipione;* l. 723, *in parva pecunia.* **perfecto et spectato**: "mature and approved." *Perfecto* is here employed not in the sense of perfect, but in contrast with *pueris*. Cato's son was 40 years old when he died and had shown in his career as a soldier that he possessed in himself the qualities of a noble man.

§ 10. 96. **cave Catoni anteponas ne**: "do not put even that man

before Cato." *Cave* here is regarded as a prohibition and is therefore followed by a negative. A general negation is not converted into a positive by a following negative, such as *ne . . . quidem*, *nec . . . nec*, or *non modo*, etc. See G. 445.

97. **ut ais:** observe this common practice of Cicero of employing a saving clause like *ut ais*, when he prefers not to assume the responsibility for a statement, or when he apologizes for the use of an inelegant term. Cf. *In Cat.* 1, 6, 15, *Quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi.*

98. **huius . . . illius:** as demonstrative of the first person *hic* is used of that which is near the speaker or the writer, while *ille*, the demonstrative of the third person, denotes that which is remote. But the terms are reversed when the former is the more important, and *hic* is then rendered "the former" and *ille* "the latter." See G. 307, 4, *b*. In the present case Cato is uppermost in the speaker's mind and hence *hic* is employed in reference to Cato and *ille* in reference to Socrates. **facta . . . dicta:** note the antithesis. In the eyes of the Romans a life of action was esteemed the only proper life for a man of rank. Because the Romans were preëminently a practical people, they looked upon all other pursuits as trifling and unworthy a great mind in comparison with that of the administration of the republic.

99. **sic habetote:** "consider this." *Sic* has reference to what follows. In regard to *habetote*, it may be observed that this so-called future imperative, like the future imperatives of *scire* and *memini*, is used for the present, since these verbs have only the second form of the imperative. See G. 267 R.

CHAPTER III

101. **desiderio:** i. e. the loss of his departed friend. The word often expresses the longing one feels at the death of a relative or friend. **quam id recte:** the separation of *quam* from *recte* serves to emphasize both words, especially *recte*. So *ita*, *tam*, *tantus* and *quantus* are not infrequently separated from the words they modify. This figure is called in rhetoric hyperbaton or *traiectio*.

102. **viderint sapientes:** "let the wise men (Stoics) determine how far I am right." *Sapientes* apparently denotes the Stoics who maintained that the ideal wise man should be free from all emotion and passion. *Viderint* seems best interpreted as the perfect subjunctive, though some editors prefer to explain it as the future perfect indicative. **sed certe:** of course, there is an ellipsis after *sed* which

connects the conclusion (*mentiar*) with the preceding condition (*si . . . negem*).

103. Moveor: sc. *desiderio*. Observe the emphatic position of *moveor*, which indicates the strong feeling of Lælius, who seems to resent the supposition that he was not deeply moved by the death of Scipio.

105. ipse: see note on l. 53, *te ipse cognosces*.

106. errore: "delusion," i. e. that death is an evil. **quo amicorum decessu:** both an ablative of cause, the one near and the other remote cause. *Decessu* also indicates time. It is not unusual to find two ablatives thus juxtaposed in Latin, though to English ears the construction appears rather harsh. **plerique:** "people generally." Distinguish between *plerique* and *plurimi*.

107. accidisse Scipioni . . . mihi accidit: for a similar example of chiasmus, see l. 1, *Q. Mucius augur . . . pontificem Scaevolam* (l. 9).

108. si quid accidit: this bare suggestion does not warrant the inference that death is an evil, but rather the thought that we do not understand the nature of death. **incommodis:** in sharp contrast with *mali*.

109. amantis: "it is characteristic of one who loves," a predicative genitive of possession. Cf. l. 82, *humanitatis tuae*.

§ 11. 109. Cum illo . . . praeclare: "but who would say in his case that his end was not glorious?" *Agere bene cum aliquo* means "to treat some one well." Cf. l. 1061, *agere cum populo ; De Lege Agr.* 3, 2, 8, *agi secum praeclare ; Ad Fam.* 4, 5, 3, *non pessime cum eis actum*.

110. Nisi . . . vellet: "for unless he wished to desire exemption from death." *Vellet* does not here represent an unreal condition but an ideal condition (*velit*), transferred to past time. Cf. *Pro Sestio*, 21, 47, *sin essent victi boni*. "In case the ideal condition is represented from the point of view of the past, the protasis is found in the imperfect, very rarely in the pluperfect subjunctive and the apodosis has corresponding forms." — G. 596, 2. For the distinction between *velle* and *optare*, see Lexicon. **quod ille minime putabat:** "a thought he was far from entertaining." The antecedent of this relative clause is the thought contained in *immortalitatem optare vellet*.

112. quod homini fas esset: subjunctive of characteristic. *Fas* (*fari*, "to speak") denotes that which is right from the point of view of heaven, *ius* right from the point of view of men.

113. iam: strictly modifies *habuerant*, but is placed in its present position to call attention to *puero*, which is emphatic. Cf. note on l. 101, *quam id recte*. **continuo adulescens:** "immediately on reaching man's estate." Under the command of his father L. Æmi-

lius Paulus, young Scipio, when only 17 years old, achieved special distinction at the battle of Pydna, in 168 B. C. For an account of his bravery, read Plutarch, II, p. 317.

115. **ante tempus**: "before the legal age," i. e., 43. If elected to the consulship when exactly 43 years old, a man was said to have attained the office *suo anno*. Scipio was first elected in 147 B. C., when he was only 38 — five years under the statutory age — and again 134 B. C., when he was 51 years old.

116. **sibi suo tempore**: "at any time favorable to himself"; *sibi* is a dative of reference, as is also *rei publicae* which follows. The addition of *suo* is a mark of colloquial fulness. **sero**: "too late," because the Numantine war had now dragged on eight years, proving rather disastrous to the Romans.

117. **duabus . . . eversis**: Carthage and Numantia, the former destroyed in 146 B. C., the later in 133 B. C. **non modo . . . delevit**: "put an end not only to wars then existing, but also to those which were likely to take place."

118. **Quid dicam de moribus facillimis**: "what shall I say about his most affable manner?" This implies that Scipio's manners were so well and favorably known as to render comment unnecessary.

119. **de pietate**: "as to his filial affection." Scipio provided a generous support for his mother Papiria who had been divorced for some unknown reason by Æmilius Paulus. **liberalitate in sorores**: one of Scipio's sisters was married to the son of Cato the Censor and was left a widow; the other sister was married to a worthy but poor man, Ælius Tubero. Upon the death of his mother Papiria, Scipio generously turned over the support he had been giving her to his two sisters. **bonitate in suos**: Scipio gave his legacy from his father's estate to his eldest brother. Cf. Cicero, *Paradoxa* 48, *utrum tandem pluris aestimemus pecuniam Pyrrhi . . . liberalitatem Africani qui eius hereditatis Q. Maximo fratri partem suam concessit?* See also Mommsen, vol. 3, 109.

121. **maerore funeris**: i. e. the grief exhibited at his funeral. *Maeror* denotes grief expressed or unexpressed by the sufferer; *dolor* grief as felt in the heart; and *luctus* grief especially as expressed by outward circumstances, such as the dress, etc. Cf. *Ad Att.* 12, 28, 2, *maerorem minui dolorem nec potui nec si possem vellem*; also *Pro Balbo* 61.

124. **memini . . . disserere**: for the use of the present infinitive here, see note on l. 14, *incidere*. Cato the Censor died 149 B. C. Cicero here artfully endeavors to impart an air of reality to the conversation of Scipio and Lælius and Cato in the *Cato Maior*.

126. **viriditatem**: "freshness." Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6, 304, *cruda deo viridisque senectus*; *ibid.* 5, 295, *viridis iuventa*. **nunc**: used

instead of *tum* probably to avoid ambiguity, since *tum* might be taken as referring to Scipio's condition at the time of the conversation (150 B. C.). Besides, the recent death of Scipio (he died only a few days before this reputed conversation took place) renders the use of *nunc* appropriate.

§ 12. 127. **quidem**: emphasizes the antithesis between *vita* and *moriendi*. Cf. l. 79, *quidem*. **vel fortuna vel gloria**: "whether in respect of fortune or of fame." *Fortuna* and *gloria* are both ablatives of specification. The statement implies that some would regard Scipio's success as the result of chance (*fortuna*), while others would consider his renown (*gloria*) as worthily won. What is the distinction between *vel* and *aut?*

128. **accedere**: i. e., either to his fortune or to his fame. **moriendi**: modifies both *celeritas* and *sensum*. Would *mortis* here have the same meaning as *moriendi?* The circumstances of Scipio's death were thought by many to indicate that he was murdered. For he was found dead in bed the morning of the day he was expected to deliver a speech in the senate on the proposed agrarian law. As an evidence of the high esteem in which he was held, the evening before his death, when it was learned that he intended to speak in the senate on the measure then pending, he was escorted to his home by the senate and by many admiring friends who were interested in the proposed agrarian law.

129. **quo de genere mortis**: "about a death of this kind." For the use of the genitive, see l. 41, *sermonum*. **difficile dictu est**: the facts of Scipio's death were never known because no investigation was ever made. Cicero implies elsewhere (*Dē Fato*, 18) that he believed that Scipio was murdered. **quid homines suspicentur**: many suspected that Sempronia, the wife of Scipio, had poisoned him; or that if she had not, at any rate some of the partisans of C. Gracchus, perhaps M. Fulvius Flaccus and C. Papirius Carbo, had had him poisoned. Scipio had vigorously opposed these men in his speech in the senate the last day of his life.

130. **vere . . . dicere**: in contrast with *suspicerentur*.

131. **celeberrimos**: "most festive"; literally, "most thronged." Note the Latin idiom of incorporating the superlative modifying the antecedent into the relative clause.

133. **domum reductus**: it was customary in times of great political excitement for leading statesmen to be escorted to and from the senate by their admiring friends. *Deducere* is generally employed in the sense "to escort from home" and *reducere* "to escort home." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 63, *Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia; salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli.* **ad vesperum**: how different from *sub vesperum?*

patribus conscriptis: originally the expression was *patres et conscripti*, "fathers and conscript (senators)," in order to distinguish the fathers proper from the enrolled senators. After this distinction was lost, the titular address was simply *patres conscripti*.

134. **populo Romano**: the Roman people, especially those who sympathized with Scipio's party — the optimates. **sociis et Latinis**: taken together as forming one member of the triad. It is Cicero's practice in a series or enumeration to express the conjunction between each of the terms of the series, or to omit the conjunction altogether, or to connect the last two by *que*. Hence *sociis et Latinis* do not form separate groups, but simply one group of the series parallel with *patribus conscriptis* and *populo Romano*.

135. **alto dignitatis gradu**: an indication how high the Roman rated the attainment of civic supremacy.

136. **deos**: = *qui dei sunt*, in explanatory apposition to *superos*. It is to be noted that *deos* is separated from *superos* purposely that the reader may not understand it with *inferos*, which is here to be rendered "shades," i. e., the lower world.

CHAPTER IV

§ 13. 137. **iis**: the Epicureans principally, though the Peripatetics held somewhat the same views. These doctrines were first taught at Rome by the Greek philosophers about 150 B. C. **haec**: the reference is to the thought implied in the infinitives, *interire* and *deleri*, — materialistic views held by the Epicureans who had only recently begun to teach at Rome. **nuper**: the term is rather elastic. Cf. l. 57, *modo*.

138. **cum corporibus**: observe that the Latin idiom commonly employs the plural in such cases, whereas the English idiom prefers the singular. Cf. l. 154, *de immortalitate animorum*; also *Cato Maior*, § 77, *Sed credo deos immortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana*; *ibid.* § 80, where both singular and plural are found.

139. **antiquorum auctoritas**: "the example of the ancients." Cf. l. 41, *veterum auctoritate*.

140. **nostrorum maiorum**: "our own ancestors"; i. e., the Romans in contrast with the Greeks. Hence the emphatic position of *nostrorum*. **tam religiosa iura**: the reverent rites paid to the dead included both the celebration of the funeral obsequies and the annual libations offered upon the anniversary of the death of the departed relatives. For an account of these rites, see Cicero, *De Leg.* 2, 55 and 57.

141. **quod non fecissent . . . si . . . arbitrarentur**: we should naturally expect here the pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis of

the unreal condition, but, as if for vividness, the present is substituted for the past. In such clauses the imperfect is occasionally employed when the writer seems to realize the past as present and regards the condition as still continuing. Sometimes both clauses of the condition have the imperfect tense where the rule requires the pluperfect. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 19, *num igitur si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Tusc. Disp.* 1, 27, *caerimonias quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent . . . nisi haereret*, etc.

142. **eorum qui in hac terra**: i. e., the Pythagoreans, who established a school of philosophy at Crotona in southern Italy as early as the fifth century B. C. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 78, *Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus.*

143. **nunc quidem**: "now, of course." For this use of *quidem*, see l. 839, *qui neglegendi quidem non sunt.* Magna Græcia (southern Italy) passed into the power of the Romans at the close of the war with Pyrrhus, in 275 B. C., from which time the country was no longer called Magna Græcia.

144. **tum florebat**: "but at that time was flourishing"; adversative asyndeton. **institutis et praeceptis**: "by principles and maxims."

145. **vel eius**: i. e., Socrates, whom, along with the Pythagoreans, Cicero cites as authority for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

146. **qui non tum hoc tum illud**: sc. *dicebat.* Cf. l. 11, *sed de hoc alias.* It was the practice of Socrates and his followers to argue on both sides of a question so as to ascertain the truth.

147. **animos**: cf. *cum corporibus*, above.

148. **optimoque . . . expeditissimum**: "the better and more just the man, the easier his return to heaven." Cf. *Cato Maior*, §§ 78–83, where a similar view is set forth.

§ 14. 150. **videbatur**: "appeared reasonable"; i. e., grounds for the belief in the immortality of the soul. **praesagiret**: "as if he had a presentiment of the truth." Cf. *De Div.* 1, 65, *Is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est, futura ante scire.*

151. **Philus et Manilius**: L. Furius Philus, consul in 136 B. C., and M. Manilius, consul in 149 B. C., were men of rare culture and both members of Scipio's circle. Philus was distinguished as a ripe Greek scholar and Manilius as an eminent jurist. They both figure in Cicero's treatise on the State (*De Re Publica*), in the sixth book of which the author sets forth his views on the immortality of the soul in the discussion called "Scipio's dream" (*Somnium Scipionis*).

152. **adesset**: note that in such cases Cicero regularly uses the singular after two singular subjects connected by *et . . . et*. Cf. *Ad Att.* 4, 17, 4, *et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit*; also, *Mur.* 15, *et proavus Murenae et avus praetor fuit*; *Phil.* 11, 27, *et Brutus et Cassius multis iam in rebus ipse sibi senatus fuit.*

153. **de re publica**: "concerning the state"; i. e., the ideal state. This alleged conversation is set forth in Cicero's *De Re Publica*. **disputationis**: see note on l. 52, *disputatio*.

154. **extremum fere**: "almost the very end." *Fere* usually follows the word it modifies. **quae . . . dicebat**: "truths which he said he had heard from the Elder Scipio as revealed in a dream." The antecedent of *quae* is the idea contained in the preceding passage, referring to the dream of Scipio, at the conclusion of the *De Re Publica*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 7, *interfui querelis quae deplorare solebant.*

155. **Africano**: the Elder Scipio, surnamed Africanus.

156. **optumi cuiusque animus in morte**: "the souls of all good men at death." **tamquam e custodia**: see note on l. 25, *quasi*. Cf. *De Re Pub.* 6, 14, *ei vivunt qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt.*

157. **vinclisque**: syncope, for *vinculis*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 81, *Ex quo intelligitur quales futuri sunt cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint.* **censemus**: for the usual *censetis*. Note the alliteration in this passage *custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum.*

158. **maerere hoc eius eventu**: "to grieve at such a fate as this is, I fear, a mark of envy rather than of friendship." *Eventu* is here used in the sense of "fate." Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 11, 758, *ducis exemplum eventumque secuti.*

160. **illa veriora**: sc. *sunt*. Cicero frequently omits the verb *esse* in brief emphatic sentences, especially with pronominal subjects. Cf. l. 891, *praeclara rara*; also, *Acad.* 2, 86, *iam illa praeclara. Illa* refers here to the Epicurean doctrine of the soul mentioned above (l. 137, *haec*) and is explained by the following clause *ut . . . sit.*

161. **ut nihil boni . . . sic certe nihil mali**: "though there is nothing good in death, yet surely there is nothing evil."

162. **sensu . . . amisso**: an ablative absolute with conditional force. Cf. *Tusc. Dis.* 1, 87, *seq.*

163. **quasi natus . . . esset**: as subject it is best to understand *is*, or *ille*, referring to Scipio. We should expect here primary sequence, according to the rule, but the pluperfect tense is employed to emphasize the unreal character of the hypothesis. See G. 602, Rem. 1.

164. **gaudemus . . . laetabitur**: *gaudere* denotes the sensation itself, *laetari* its manifestation. Of the two verbs *gaudere* is the stronger. However, this distinction is not always observed.

§ 15. 165. **cum illo**: see l. 110, *actum esse praeclare.*

166. **quem fuerat aequius**: with verbs and verbal expressions denoting possibility, power, obligation and necessity and the like, the Latin language employs the indicative and not the subjunctive, even though the action is not realized. See G. 254, Rem. 1. Translate: "for it would have been more fitting." The subject of *fuerat* is really the clause *quem exire de vita.* Of course, after *introieram* you must understand *in vitam* from *de vita.*

167. **recordatione**: how different from *memoria?* See Lexicon.

168. **videar**: sc. *mihi;* "I think." **quia . . . vixerim**: subjunctive by attraction, dependent upon the clause *ut . . . videar.*

169. **quocum mihi coniuncta est**: "with whom I shared." What kind of dative is *mihi?* **de publica re**: i. e., their official public life, *publica* being contrasted with *privata* which follows. *De re publica* would mean "about the commonwealth."

170. **domus . . . militia communis**: this does not mean that Lælius and Scipio occupied the same house, but it simply indicates their intimacy in sharing each other's homes and their serving together in the war against Carthage when Lælius was an officer under Scipio.

171. **omnis vis**: "the whole essence," i. e., the sum and substance.

172. **voluntatum . . . consensio**: "the complete harmony of tastes, ambitions and views." Observe that the effect of pluralizing an abstract noun in Latin is to render it concrete.

174. **falsa praesertim**: = *praesertim cum falsa sit.* Cf. *De Offic.* 1, 137, *deforme est de se ipso praedicare, falsa praesertim.*

176. **idque eo mihi magis est cordi**: "and this is all the more gratifying to me." *Mihi* is a dative of reference; *cordi* a dative of purpose. The phrase *alicui cordi est* means "it is dear to somebody's heart"; i. e., it is pleasing. Cf. Hor., *Car.* 1, 17, 14, *dis pietas mea et musa cordi est.*

177. **tria aut quattuor paria**: *viz.*, Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, Damon and Pythias (Phintias).

178. **quo in genere**: sc. *amicitiarum;* — redundant, of course. **sperare videor**: sc. *mihi;* "I flatter myself with the hope."

§ 16. 180. **Istuc . . . ita necesse est**: "what you say (*istuc*), Lælius, is, no doubt, true." Cf. l. 54, *ista. Ita* seems to ratify Lælius's statement.

181. **otiosi**: "free from business." When not engaged actually in the business of state, the Roman statesman considered himself free to engage in philosophical discussions and other pursuits. These he regarded as a kind of relaxation from more important business.

182. **feceris . . . si . . . disputaris**: the use of the future perfect in both of these clauses shows that the two acts are contemporane-

ous. Latin usage is far more exact in the employment of the future tenses than English. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 6, *Atque, Cato, gratissimum nobis . . . feceris, si . . . multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.* **quem ad modum**: "as." Frequently written as one word, *quemadmodum.*

183. **soles**: sc. *respondere.* Cf. l. 13, *ut solebat.* **ceteris rebus**: i. e., as opposed to *amicitia.*

184. **quid sentias, qualem existumes, quae praecepta des**: the last two clauses explain the scope and extent of the first *quid sentias*, and the three suggest convenient divisions for the discussion of the subject, *viz.*, *quid sentias*, "your opinion of friendship," i. e., its value (§§ 17–24); *qualem existumes*, "its nature" (§§ 26–35); *quae praecepta des*, "the rules governing it" (§§ 36–100).

186. **Mihi vero**: an emphatic form of assent quite common in Cicero's dialogues. Cf. *Academ.* 1, 14; 1, 25; 1, 41. **id ipsum tecum agere**: cf. l. 29, *cum enim saepe mecum ageres.*

187. **antevortit**: "anticipated me"; lit. "turned in front of me," — a figure borrowed from the chariot race in which the driver turns the posts (*metae*) before another and takes the inside track next the wall (*spina*). Cf. Hor., *Car.* 1, 1, 4–5.

188. **nostrum**: partitive form after *utrique.* **admodum**: placed after *gratum* for emphasis. Cf. l. 13, *pauci admodum.* **feceris**: i. e., if you will discuss the subject friendship.

CHAPTER V

§ 17. 189. **non gravarer**: "I should not object." Cf. *Pro Cluent.* 69, *primo gravari coepit quod—.* **ipse**: cf. also, l. 53, *ipse.*

190. **praeclara res est et sumus . . . otiosi**: "the theme is an excellent one." Observe the chiasmus. Cf. l. 1, *Q. Mucius augur.*

191. **quis ego sum**: Lælius thus indicates his modesty and implies that, as a statesman whose pursuits have not been in the domain of philosophy, he regards himself incompetent to discuss this topic.

192. **facultas**: "readiness, or aptitude acquired by practice." **doctorum**: i. e., the professional philosophers, as in l. 244, below. **eaque**: "and that too"; — emphatic. **Graecorum**: a substantive. Lælius implies that he is not a philosopher nor a Greek, and therefore is not the proper person to discuss this subject. By avowing that he was not a Greek, Lælius gives proof that his sympathies were with the masses who at that time looked with keen antipathy upon everything Greek. But the subtle influence of Greek literature gradually bore down this dogged opposition, so that even Cato, intense Roman that he was, finally yielded and began the study of Greek, so we are told, when he was quite an old man.

193. **ut iis ponatur**: explanatory of *ista consuetudo*. The reference is to the practice of the Sophists instituted by Gorgias of Leontini (Cicero, *De Fin.* II, 1, 1) of discussing off-hand any subject whatever. The philosophers of the New Academy, later, adopted the same custom. **quamvis subito**: "however suddenly." **magnum opus**: "a great task." Cf. *Academ.* 2, 121; *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 79 and 84; *Orat.* 75. Distinguish between *opus*, *labor* and *opera* (see Lexicon).

194. **non parva**: litotes. Cf. l. 31, *non invitus*.

195. **ab iis censeo petatis**: "I am of the opinion that you should seek from those." It seems best to explain *petatis* as directly dependent upon *censeo*. Cf. note on *cave*, l. 96, and *necesse*, l. 552; also *Phil.* 2, 37, 95, *meditere censeo*.

196. **qui ista profitentur**: i. e., the professional philosophers. **vos hortari tantum possum**: Lælius declines to give an exhaustive philosophical discussion of friendship, but he ventures to suggest a few directions about it.

197. **omnibus rebus humanis**: "earthly blessings." Cf. l. 256. We should have expected Lælius to say *omnibus ceteris rebus*, but he is entirely informal in this discussion and therefore prefers a colloquial phrase.

198. **naturae aptum**: a reference to the fundamental Stoic precept to live "according to nature." Cf. l. 217, *quia sequantur quantum homines possunt naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.* After *aptus* Cicero uses both the dative and *ad* with the accusative. Cf. l. 368, *ad amicitiam esset aptissimus.* Observe the chiastic order of the words.

§ 18. 199. **nisi in bonis**: "except in the case of good men." Cf. l. 758, *amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse.*

200. **neque id ad vivum reseco**: "nor do I take this in too strict a sense," viz., the question whether only good men can be friends. This is a matter for the philosophers to discuss. The figure involved in *reseco* is borrowed from surgery, and the phrase *ad vivum resecare* means literally "to cut back to the quick (*vivum*)."

201. **subtilius disserunt**: i. e., the philosophers.

202. **ad communem utilitatem parum**: "without sufficient reference to the general good." The speculative views of the sophists were simply theoretical and without any practical aim, and hence they failed to appeal to the Roman mind. **negant enim quemquam**: a celebrated tenet of the Stoics.

203. **sit ita sane**: "let it be so then," a familiar phrase of concession equivalent to "granted." Cf. *Sest.* 54, 115, *sit hoc sane leve*, also, *Academ.* 2, 84, *ne sit sane*, and again 2, 105, *sint falsa sane.* **eam sapientiam interpretantur**: sc. *esse*; "they understand by wis-

dom that thing which." *Eam* is the result of attraction of gender. Cf. *De Fin.* 2, 22, 70, *Negat Epicurus; hoc enim vostrum lumen est; Piso* 57, *levis est animi iustam gloriam qui est fructus verae virtutis honestissimus repudiare; Phil.* 5, 39, *Pompeio patre quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit exstincto;* Livy, 32, 21, 33, *Ea non media sed nulla via est.* "The demonstrative pronoun is commonly attracted into the gender of the predicate." — G. 211, 5.

204. **mortalis nemo**: in Cicero *mortalis* as a substantive is found, as a rule, only with *nemo*, *omnis*, *cunctus* and *multus*. Here *nemo* is an adjective, = *nullus*.

205. **in usu vitaque communi**: "in the experience of every-day life." The implied contrast is between practical wisdom which enters into our every-day life and theoretical wisdom, which is the object of imagination or desire merely.

207. **C. Fabricium**: C. Fabricius Luscinus, held up by Cicero as a paragon of civic virtue among the primitive Romans, was consul in 282 B. C. and again in 278 B. C. He was commander of the Roman armies against Pyrrhus, 281–275 B. C. He was noted for his integrity as proved by his unflinching resistance of all of Pyrrhus's attempts to bribe him. When a traitor once made him an offer to poison Pyrrhus, Fabricius had the courage and nobility of character to inform his arch-enemy Pyrrhus of the plot against his life. **M'. Curium**: M'. Curius Dentatus was thrice consul, — in 290, in 275 and in 274 B. C., — and censor in 272 B. C. He triumphed over the Samnites in the third Samnite war. As an evidence of his high integrity, it is related of him, on the authority of Pliny, that he took nothing of all the spoil he captured during this war except a beech cup which he needed for sacrificing (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16, 38, 185). As for his prænomen Manius which is abbreviated M'., the apostrophe is employed to distinguish the name from Marcus, which is abbreviated M. simply. The apostrophe is retained as a survival of the fifth stroke of the earlier form of the letter which was written thus : ᴍ.

208. **Ti. Coruncanium**: an eminent jurist and the first plebeian pontifex maximus (254 B. C.). Like C. Fabricius and M'. Curius, Coruncanius served with distinction against Pyrrhus and the Etruscans. Cicero says of him, "*usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia*" (*Cato Maior*, § 27). The names of all three of these Romans are mentioned in the same order in the *Cato Maior*, § 15, *Ceteri senes Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant nihil agebant.* **nostri maiores iudicabant**: sc. *esse*. Here *nostri* precedes to heighten the contrast. Cf. l. 140, *nostrorum maiorum*.

209. **sibi habeant**: the emphasis rests on *sibi*. Cf. the formula used by the Roman husband in divorcing his wife, — *tuas res tibi habeto*.

210. invidiosum: "unpopular," as a result of its pretentiousness. **concedant ut:** the use of the perfect denotes a fact admitted, "but let them admit." *Concedere* in the sense "to permit to do something" is followed by *ut* with the subjunctive; in the sense "to admit a fact," it is usually followed by the infinitive with subject accusative. Note the adversative asyndeton.

§ 19. **212. pingui . . . Minerva:** "with our dull wits." Minerva was the tutelary goddess of skill and wisdom. *Pinguis* signifies "fat, dull, gross." A variant form of this proverb is "*crassa Minerva*," with which compare the familiar phrase, "*invita Minerva*." Cf. Hor., *Sat.* 2, 5, 14, *Hac prece te oro : pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter ingenium* (= *Minervam*, "wit"). **ut aiunt:** like τὸ λεγόμενον, frequently used parenthetically to indicate a proverbial expression. Cf. l. 97, *ut ais*.

214. fides integritas, aequitas liberalitas: to be taken in pairs with a rhetorical pause after *integritas*, thus: "loyalty and uprightness, justice and generosity." The former two qualities refer especially to outward life, the latter two to character.

215. cupiditas, libido, audacia: "covetousness, passion and presumption." Here, as elsewhere in Cicero, *audacia* is employed in a bad sense. **constantia:** "firmness, or strength of character." Cf. l. 88, *constanti homini*.

216. ut habiti sunt . . . putemus: for a parallel construction, see *Cato Maior*, § 20, *Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes.*

217. quia sequantur: not the speaker's reason, but the suggested reason of the subject of *putemus*, and hence subjunctive of implied *oratio obliqua*. **naturam ducem:** the Stoic doctrine ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν τῇ φύσει. The Stoics and the philosophers of the New Academy after them insisted that man should follow nature, but there was no agreement as to the interpretation of nature. Some understood by nature "natural inclination," others "the constitution of the universe." Cicero seems to adopt the former interpretation of nature, viz., "natural inclination." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 5, *Quo circa si sapientiam meam admirari soletis* (*quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!*) *in hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus.* **sic:** here the adverb is equivalent to *tale aliquid* as the object of *perspicere*. **mihi perspicere videor:** a circumlocution for *perspicio*. Cf. l. 168, *videar*.

219. ita . . . ut: "on the condition that." Cf. l. 4, *ita*.

220. societas: "fellowship." This is the doctrine of Aristotle expressed in his *Politics*, 1, 1, ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον. Cicero repeats this sentiment in numerous passages. **maior autem ut:**

"greater in proportion as." The more usual construction would be *eo maior quo proprius*.

221. **cives**: the verb has to be supplied from the context.

222. **peregrini**: "a foreigner." Cf. English *pilgrim* (from French *pelerin*, Low Latin, *pelegrinus*). **alieni**: "strangers." This word is not used in good Latin in the sense of our English word "alien." **his**: refers to *cives aut propinqui*. Cf. l. 99, *huius*.

223. **ea**: sc. *amicitia*. **peperit**: for the thought see Plato, *Apology*, 30, ταῦτα καὶ νεωτέρῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐντυγχάνω, ποιήσω, καὶ ξένῳ καὶ ἀστῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ἀστοῖς, ὅσῳ μου ἐγγυτέρω ἐστὲ γένει.

225. **benevolentia**: equivalent to Aristotle's εὔνοια as an element of true friendship. **non potest**: contrary to the English idiom, the Latin requires here the repetition of the verb *potest* in the negative clause. Note the omission of the adversative particle.

226. **amicitiae nomen**: appositional genitive. Cf. l. 41, *sermonum*.

227. **propinquitatis**: the adversative particle is omitted, the antithesis being implied in the verb.

§ 20. 227. **Quanta . . . sit**: "how great is the force of friendship." For *vis*, see note on l. 171, *vis*.

231. **omnis caritas**: "all affection."

CHAPTER VI

232. **Est enim**: the reason why true friendship is so rare is because the conditions are so difficult.

234. **consensio**: this expresses the sum and substance of friendship. Cf. l. 172, *summa consensio*. **haud scio an**: "perhaps," "probably"; literally, "I know not but." Cf. ll. 517 and 604.

237. **honores**: "honors," in the sense of civil offices. **Beluarum**: sc. *est*. Gen. of characteristic. Cf. l. 83. **hoc quidem extremum**: "this last indeed," i. e., *praeponere voluptates*. Note the chiasmus in *beluarum hoc extremum, illa superiora caduca et incerta*.

238. **caduca et incerta**: "fleeting and uncertain." Cf. l. 1133, *res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt*; also *Pro Dom.* 146, *caduca semper et mobilia haec esse duxi, non virtutis sed fortunae numera*.

239. **posita . . . in**: "dependent upon." Cf. l. 72, *omnia tua in te posita*.

240. **summum bonum**: "the highest good," i. e., the end and aim of man. The term was much employed by the Greek philosophers.

241. **praeclare illi**: sc. *faciunt*. Cf l. 405, *recte tu quidem*.

242. **gignit et continet**: "produces and maintains." Cf. l. 1111, *virtus . . . et conciliat amicitias et conservat*. **esse**: "exist." Cf. l. 338, *quae est*.

§ 21. 243. **Iam**: "now," "to proceed." **ex consuetudine vitae sermonisque nostri**: here there is an implied contrast between the common experiences of every-day life and the speculations and theories of the philosophers, on the one hand, and between the plain parlance of the people and the vague grandiloquence (*magnificentia verborum*) of the philosophers, on the other.

244. **quidam docti**: i. e., the Stoics. The indefinite *quidam* connotes a degree of reproach.

245. **virosque bonos**: predicative accusative. Here *-que* has the force of *autem*. This adversative force of *-que* occurs usually after a negative. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 29, 71, *Socrates nec patronum quaesivit nec judicibus supplex fuit, adhibuitque liberam contumaciam.* See Harper's *Lat. Dict.*, *-que* VI.

246. **Paulos, Catones,** etc.: generic plural. Translate: "men like Paulus, Cato," etc. For Paulus and Galus, see l. 95, *Paulum . . . Galum ;* for Cato, see l. 33, *Catonem ;* for *Scipiones*, see Introduction, 7; and for *Philus*, see l. 151, *Philus*.

247. **his . . . contenta est**: "these meet the requirements of common life." **eos**: i. e., the ideal good men of the philosophers who do not exist in the flesh.

§ 22. 248. **Talis igitur**: *talis* has reference to the definition of the *boni viri ;* and *igitur* resumes the thought left off at l. 199, *Sed hoc.*

249. **opportunitates**: "advantages." To pluralize an abstract noun is to render it concrete. Cf. l. 172, *voluntatum ;* l. 269, *commoditates ;* etc.

250. **vix queo**: observe that Cicero does not use *nequeo*, but *vix* or *non queo*. **Principio**: "in the first place." **qui**: originally a locative from *quis ;* "how." Cf. *qui esset*, below. This interrogative *qui* (how?) must not be confused with the relative *qui* (cf. *quicum*, "with whom"), which is also a locative form. **vita vitalis**: "life worth living"; a paraphrase of the Greek βίος βιωτός.

251. **Ennius**: Quintus Ennius, "the father of Roman poetry" and the first Roman to write the dactylic hexameter in Latin, was born at Rudiæ in 239 B. C. On establishing himself at Rome, he translated Greek plays for the Roman stage and gave lessons in the Greek language. He became a warm friend of the Scipios and was held in high esteem as an authority in literary matters by his own and subsequent generations. It was his influence that went far toward determining permanently and definitely the length of syllables and establishing the declensions and conjugations of many nouns and verbs the usage of which varied. He wrote tragedies, satire, and an historical epic entitled the *Annales*, of which only a few fragments have been preserved. He died in the year 169 B. C. **quae . . . conquiescit**: "which does not find repose in an interchange of kindness with a friend."

252. **quicum**: only employed when the antecedent is general and indefinite as here. Otherwise *quocum* must be used. Cf. l. 18, *quocum.*

253. **qui esset**: "how could there be?"

254. **prosperis**: not so common as *secundis rebus.*

257. **singulae . . . singulis**: never used in the singular, and refers to things taken one at a time. **fere**: "for the most part."

258. **divitiae**: "riches." **honores**: cf. l. 237, *honores.* See note on l. 248.

259. **valetudo**: i. e., good health, *bona* being implied. Cf. l. 236, *bonam valetudinem ;* also l. 84, *valetudinem.*

260. **amicitia**: note asyndeton.

261. **verteris**: perfect subjunctive,—"ideal second person." See G. 258. **nullo loco**: ablative of separation, perhaps equivalent to *nusquam.*

262. **numquam**: how distinguished from *nusquam ?* **intempestiva**: "out of season."

263. **non aqua, non igni**: fire and water were regarded as the prime necessities of life. Hence the formula for exile, *aqua et igni interdicere.* Observe the anaphora, *numquam . . . numquam, non . . . non.* **ut aiunt**: cf. l. 97, *ut ais.* **locis**: when modified by an adjective, *locus* in the ablative occurs frequently without *in.*

264. **mediocri**: i. e., friendship between the inferior (*vulgari*) and the higher (*vera et perfecta*).

266. **qualis eorum**: sc. *amicitia est.* **pauci nominantur**: note the incorporation of *pauci* into the relative clause and compare l. 176, *ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum.*

CHAPTER VII

§ 23. 269. **Cumque**: *cum + que.* Cf. *itaque* (*ita + que*), "and so," not the same as the conjunction *itaque*, "therefore."

270. **contineat**: *cum . . . tum* ordinarily has the indicative mood in both clauses. But here the *cum* clause has the subjunctive on the ground of implying a contrast between that which has already been pointed out and that which is to be mentioned. Had the fact expressed in the *cum* clause not been mentioned before, the indicative mood would probably have been used. *Tum* here corresponds to *Principio* (l. 250). **illa**: sc. *commoditas.*

271. **praelucet**: transitive; — "sheds the light of reasoning hope." Such a transitive use of *praelucet* is very rare.

272. **cadere**: "to languish."

273. **tamquam**: "so to say," apologetic. Cf. l. 25, *quasi.* **exemplar**: "a likeness," "example." Cf. l. 902, *verus amicus . . . est tamquam alter idem.*

274. **absentes adsunt**: i. e., as seen in the persons of their friends who are their images (*exemplaria*). Note the oxymoron in *absentes adsunt et egentes abundant*. Cf. *In Cat.* 1, 8, 21, *cum tacent clamant;* also *Cato Maior*, § 16, *mentes dementes*. **egentes abundant**: Reed, on this passage, cites St. Paul, *Corinth.* 2, 6. 10, "as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

275. **difficilius dictu**: "more difficult to say (believe)." Cf. *incredibile dictu*. **mortui vivunt**: cf. St. Paul, *Corinth.* 2, 6, 9, "as dying, and behold, we live" (Reed). **tantus eos honos**: *tantus* and *honos*, which grammatically go together, are here separated by trajection or hyperbaton. Cf. l. 101, *quam id recte*.

276. **amicorum**: subjective genitive.

277. **Ex quo**: the antecedent of the relative is the entire preceding clause, and not *desiderium* simply. **illorum**: i. e., the dead, as contrasted with *horum*, the living. **beata mors . . . vita laudabilis**: observe the chiasmus.

278. **exemeris**: perfect subjunctive. Cf. l. 261, *verteris*. **ex rerum natura**: "from the world"; literally, constitution of things. Lucretius's famous poem was entitled *De Rerum Natura*. **benevolentiae coniunctionem**: "the bond of good-will."

279. **ne agri quidem cultus**: for the common *agricultura*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 54, *nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius*.

280. **Id**: refers to the following clause, *quanta . . . sit*. **minus**: here equivalent to *non*.

281. **vis**: cf. l. 171, *vis*. **ex dissensionibus . . . ex discordiis**: see note on l. 249; also Sall., *Iug.* 10, 6, *concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur*.

284. **funditus**: for adverbs similarly formed, compare *penitus, radicitus, intus, antiquitus, divinitus*, etc.

§ 24. 285. **Agrigentinum**: i. e., Empedocles of the populous Sicilian city Agrigentum. Empedocles flourished about 440 B. C. In his treatise περὶ Φύσεως (whence Lucretius borrowed the title of his *De Rerum Natura*), he recognized four elements, earth, air, fire and water. Upon these, he maintained, two great forces were constantly acting, viz. love and hate; love tending to unite them and hate tending to drive them apart. As Greek literature was not popular at Rome at the supposed date of this dialogue, Cicero makes Lælius refer to Empedocles by the indefinite expression *Agrigentinum quendam*, implying that Lælius did not possess a very intimate acquaintance with Greek philosophers. **quidem**: used to call attention to the general statement at the end of § 23.

286. **vaticinatum**: "wrote in inspired numbers." This verb sometimes means "to prophesy" and sometimes even "to talk nonsense."

287. **quae . . . constarent quaeque moverentur**: "whatever is stable and whatever is in motion." This includes of course all nature. This idea of Empedocles is closely followed by Lucretius in his *De Rerum Natura*.

288. **ea contrahere amicitiam**: *ea* is the object and *amicitiam* the subject of the infinitive.

289. **hoc**: "this doctrine," viz. that friendship is a uniting force, hatred a destructive one. **mortales**: = *homines*. Cf. l. 204, *mortalis*.

290. **re**: "by experience." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 85, *re experti*.

291. **extitit**: "has been manifested." This verb does not mean "to exist," but "to come into existence."

293. **cavea**: i. e., the sloping tiers of seats in a theater; here used for the entire theater. **nuper**: a rather elastic term and here employed in a very loose sense, inasmuch as Pacuvius was about 80 years old at the time this dialogue is supposed to have occurred and he therefore could not have written any new play. **M. Pacuvi**: one of the greatest Roman tragedians, born at Brundisium about 220 B. C. The play here alluded to is probably the *Dulorestes*, the theme of which was the same as that of Euripides's *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The incident is where Pylades represents himself as Orestes, in order that he may die for him. Cf. *De Fin.* 5, 63.

> Pylades. *Ego sum Orestes.*
> Orestes. *Immo enim vero ego sum, inquam, Orestes.*
> Both. *Ambo ergo una necarier precamur.*

294. **rege**: i. e., Thoas, king of the Taurians.

296. **Stantes plaudebant**: "the audience stood up and applauded."

298. **Facile**: "involuntarily."

299. **possent**: protasis suppressed. Supply in thought, *si opus esset*.

300. **Hactenus**: "up to this point"; used in passing from one topic to another. Cf. l. 645, *hactenus*. **quid sentirem**: "my views." Cf. l. 184, *quid sentias*.

302. **si videbitur**: = *si placebit*, "if you please," — a colloquial expression used to tone down the harshness of the following imperative. **quaeritote**: the future imperative is here employed because the time of the protasis (*videbitur*) is future. Cf. l. 100, *habetote*.

§ 25. 303. **Nos autem**: sc. *quaeremus*. A verb in the indicative or subjunctive in Latin is not often to be supplied from an imperative mood.

304. **saepe quaesivi**: sc. *quid sentirent*. **non invitus equidem**: cf. l. 31, *non invitus*.

305. **filum**: "character"; literally, thread. Cf. *De Orat.* 3, 103, *filo et genere ipso orationis;* also Hor., *Epod.* 2, 1, 225, *tenui deducta poemata filo*.

306. **Tum**: refers to the following *si*-clause. **magis id diceres**: Cicero here seems to imply that Fannius did not hear the entire discussion in the *De Re Publica*, although as indicated in the first book of that work, he was one of the hearers.

307. **de re publica**: cf. l. 153, *de re publica*.

308. **patronus**: "advocate." How different from *advocatus?* See Lexicon. **accuratam**: "finished," "polished."

309. **Phili**: cf. l. 151, *Philus*.

310. **iustitiam iustissimo viro**: for a similar example of juxtaposition of words of kindred origin, see l. 44, *ad senem senex de senectute;* also *ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia*.

312. **Quid**: used to express surprise and to call attention to the following statement. **amicitiam**: placed first for emphasis and dependent upon *defendere est*, which is to be supplied in thought. **ob eam . . . servatam**: "for having preserved it" (cause). In what respect does the ablative of cause differ from this method of expressing cause?

313. **fide, constantia iustitiaque**: ablative of manner. For the anacoluthon, cf. l. 134, *sociis et Latinis*. **servatam maxumam gloriam**: note the similarity of endings, — a rhetorical figure called homœoteleuton (ὅμοιον, "like" + τέλευτον, "ending").

CHAPTER VIII

§ 26. 315. **Vim . . . adferre**: "why? you are actually resorting to violence." Compare Cæsar's exclamation when attacked by his assassins, Suetonius, 82, "*ista quidem vis est!*"

316. **Studiis**: "earnest interest."

319. **Saepissime . . . maxime**: "the more often I reflect . . . the more it seems to me, etc." Cf. *De Orat.* 1, 1, *cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent*. **mihi**: cf. l. 168, *videar*.

320. **illud**: explained by the following *utrum* clause. **inbecillitatem**: cf. l. 274, *imbecilli*. The theory here set forth is the doctrine of the Epicureans.

321. **desiderata sit**: "was thought necessary." Note the historic sequence after this verb, — *ut acciperet*.

322. **meritis**: *beneficiis*, "kindnesses." **quod**: the antecedent is the *id* which follows. **minus**: cf. l. 280, *minus*.

324. **hoc**: i. e., the repaying the kindess in his turn. **quidem . . . sed**: "while . . . still." Cf. μέν . . . δέ. Translate: "or whether, while this was, of course, a characteristic of friendship, yet there was another cause more venerable," etc. **antiquior**: how does *antiquus* differ from *vetus?* See Lexicon.

325. **natura . . . causa**: observe the homœoteleuton. Cf. l. 313, *servatam.* **Amor . . . amicitia**: cf. l. 1116, *sive amor sive amicitia.* For the thought, compare *De Fin.* 2, 78, and also *De Nat. Deo.* 1, 122.

326. **princeps . . . coniugendam**: "is the principal incentive to establishing good-will." Cf. *Pro Arch.* 1, *hunc video mihi principem suscipiendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse.*

327. **ab eis**: "from those," not "by those," which would be *per eos.*

328. **simulatione . . . causa**: observe the chiasmus.

329. **temporis causa**: "just for the occasion." Cf. l. 620, *ad tempus.*

330. **et quidquid**: after a negative, *et* is here equivalent to *sed.* Cf. l. 372, *suaque omnia ;* and also l. 898, *nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit.* **verum et voluntarium**: *verum* is contrasted with *fictum, voluntarium* with *simulatum.*

§ 27. 331. **potius . . . magis**: as *potius* means "better" and denotes an exclusive comparison between two alternatives, its use here implies that weakness can not be considered a source of friendship. *Magis* meaning "more" implies that the judgment may help to a certain degree to form friendships.

332. **adplicatione animi**: "as a result of the devotion of the affection"; literally, the bending of the affection toward something.

333. **cogitatione**: "calculation."

334. **illa res**: i. e., the forming of friendships. **Quod quidem quale**: note the alliteration.

335. **animadverti**: cf. l. 80, *animum adverti.*

336. **ex se natos**: those sprung from themselves, i. e., their offspring. **ad quoddam tempus**: "for a certain period," viz. till the young can provide for themselves. Cf. l. 620, *ad tempus ;* also *De Nat. Deo.* 2, 129, *usque ad finem dum possent se ipsi defendere.*

337. **sensus**: "feelings," contrasted with *cogitatione*, above.

339. **quae dirimi . . . non potest**: as opposed to the feelings of animals which continue for a time only (*ad quoddam tempus*).

340. **similis sensus extitit amoris**: a short-cut comparison for *sensus amoris caritati parentum similis.* Cf. l. 398, *quam ab inbecillitate.* **si aliquem**: more definite than the usual *si quem.* Cf. l. 984, *si aliquem.*

341. **congruamus**: for *nostri congruant*, — brachylogy.

342. **quasi lumen**: cf. l. 25, *quasi ;* also l. 1114, (*virtus*) *quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen.*

343. **quod . . . videamur**: subjunctive of partial obliquity. Cf. l. 217, *quia sequantur.*

§ 28. 344. **amabilius**: cf. *De Nat. Deo.* 1, 121, *nihil . . . ama-*

bilius. **quippe cum**: used for the more usual *cum* causal clause.

347. **C. Fabrici**: cf. l. 207, *C. Fabricium.* **M'. Curi**: cf. l. 207, *M'. Curium.*

348. **memoriam usurpet**: "cherish the memory"; literally, "use." Cf. l. 87, *usurpavi.* **viderit**: subjunctive because the relative clause expresses concession.

349. **Tarquinium Superbum**: the last of the early kings of Rome, who tradition informs us was banished in 509 B. C., because of his intolerable arrogance and disregard for law. The Romans could never afterwards endure even the name of king. **Sp. Cassium**: Spurius Cassius Vecellinus was thrice consul, in 502, in 493 and in 486 B. C. He made a treaty with the Latins and admitted the Hernicans to the league. He forfeited the favor of the patricians by securing the passage of the first agrarian law; he was thereupon accused of aiming at despotic power and was tried and condemned to death in 485 B. C. **Sp. Maelium**: like Spurius Cassius, Spurius Mælius was also accused of aiming at despotic power, because he distributed corn to the poor during the famine of 439 B. C. Cincinnatus as dictator sent Ahala, his master of horse, to arrest Mælius who refused to obey the summons and was in consequence summarily put to death.

351. **est decertatum**: note the intensive force of *de-* in such compounds as *decertare*, *depugnare*, etc., "to fight it out," "to fight to the end." **Pyrrho**: Pyrrhus, the distinguished Greek general and prince, invaded Italy at the head of a large army from Epirus in 280 and 279 B. C. and nominally defeated the Romans, but only at great cost (cf. Pyrrhic victory). He was killed in 272 B. C. at Argos. **Hannibale**: the great Carthaginian general who accomplished the daring feat of transporting an army across the Alps to invade Italy. He defeated the Romans repeatedly on Italian soil, but was at length recalled to Africa to defend Carthage when the Romans as a last resort carried the war into the enemy's country. Rather than fall into the hands of the Romans, he committed suicide by taking poison, 183 B. C. The traditional Roman view of Hannibal as a desperately cruel commander is not founded in fact. **ab altero**: i. e., Pyrrhus. For a similar comparison between Hannibal and Pyrrhus, see Cicero's *De Officiis* 1, 38.

352. **propter probitatem**: allusion to Pyrrhus's generosity and gratitude in releasing the Roman captives without ransom or condition, when he was informed by Fabricius of the plot of his own servant to poison him. **non nimis**: "not especially."

353. **propter crudelitatem**: traditional prejudice, not warranted by the facts.

354. **oderit**: distinguish this tense from that of *oderit*, above.

CHAPTER IX

§ 29. 355. **vel in eis**: "even," as frequently, especially with superlatives.

357. **etiam**: modifies *in hoste* and placed after for emphasis. **si . . . moveantur**: subjunctive where we should expect the indicative; perhaps best explained on the ground of partial obliquity.

358. **cum . . . videantur**: subjunctive by attraction. **possunt**: indicative because a mere circumlocution explanatory of *eorum*, and not an integral part of the thought.

359. **Quamquam**: "and yet," — corrective.

360. **studio . . . consuetudine**: "by devotion," "by familiar intercourse."

362. **motum animi et amoris**: "the inclination of the mind toward love" — hendiadys. Cf. l. 332, *applicatione animi*.

364. **ut sit**: the antecedent of the relative is the subject of *sit*, which is omitted. Cf. l. 252, *Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui ut tecum.*

365. **quisque**: the Latin idiom puts *quisque* regularly in the relative clause. Cf. l. 322, *quod quisque minus per se ipse posset.* **desideret**: subjunctive by attraction.

366. **generosum**: literally, "noble-born"; strictly applicable to persons only. Hence the modifying clause, *ut ita dicam*, to tone down the transferred epithet. Cf. l. 579, *ut ita dicam.*

367. **natam volunt**: "they will have it that it is sprung." Cf. l. 566, *volunt ; De Fin.* 5, 13, *Strato physicum se volunt.* Verg., *Aen.* 1, 626, *seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat.* **Quod si**: "now if this." Cf. l. 355, *quod si.*

368. **minimum esse in se**: "the fewer resources he possesses." Cf. l. 540, *ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium.*

§ 30. 371. **sic . . . ut**: observe this comparison within the comparison beginning *ut quisque.* This may be regarded a kind of anaphora. **nullo**: employed in place of the ablative of *nemo*, which, like the genitive, was not used. "Of *nemo* let me never see, *Neminis* and *nemine*." **suaque omnia**: the English idiom here requires *-que* to be rendered "but." Cf. l. 330, *et quidquid est.*

372. **in se ipso posita**: cf. l. 72, *omnia tua in te posita.*

374. **mei**: sc. *erat.* In impassioned speech the verb is not infrequently omitted. Note the omission of the interrogative particle. Such omission here renders the question all the more emphatic. Cf. l. 252, *quid dulcius?* l. 597, *Quis potentior.* **Hercule**: a familiar expletive.

375. **sed ego**: sc. *eum dilexi*, from *me dilexit*, below. **virtutis eius**: Cicero occasionally makes one genitive depend upon another,

especially when the dependent genitive is a pronoun. Cf. l. 452, *illius furoris*.

376. **opinione**: ablative of cause. Observe Lælius's show of modesty in referring to Africanus's opinion as *opinio* simply, which implies that it was not a deliberate judgment.

378. **multae et magnae**: the Latin idiom regularly employs *et* in such instances, whereas English omits the conjunction. If there are more than two adjectives, the conjunction is usually employed.

379. **causae diligendi profectae**: a pleonastic expression, since not the cause of love, but love itself, is denied by Lælius to proceed from hope.

§ 31. 381. **exigamus**: *exigere* is used technically of calling in a loan when due; hence the sense here is "to claim as one's right." **beneficium faeneramur**: "loan a kindness on interest"; i. e., to put it out like money to be repaid. Cf. *De Nat. Deo.* 1, 122, *quam (amicitiam) si ad fructum referemus, non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quaedam utilitatum suarum.*

383. **fructus in ipso amore inest**: "its reward is contained in the affection itself." Note the change from *amicitiam* to *amore*. Cf. l. 1116, *sive amor sive amicitia.*

384. **expetendam**: to be taken with *amicitiam*. Cf. l. 257, *quae expetuntur*.

§ 32. 384. **Ab his**: i. e., from these opinions. *His* is neuter, used as a substantive.

385. **pecudum**: observe the distinction between *pecus* (*pecoris*) and *pecus* (*pecudis*) and see what the early form of wealth was, as revealed by the etymology of *pecunia*. **ad voluptatem omnia referunt**: refers to the Epicureans. But the Epicureans used "*voluptas*," not in the sense of mere sensual enjoyment, but with the meaning of "the highest intellectual delight and mental tranquillity." Employed in this sense *voluptas* was not altogether an unworthy ideal. But the word was popularly understood to denote mainly sensual gratification, and this is the sense in which it is here employed as the contrast shows. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 39, *Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam.*

386. **nec mirum**: sc. *est*. **nihil . . . altum, nihil magnificum**: note the anaphora.

387. **suspicere**: "look up to," contrasted with *abiecerunt*. Cf. *De Orat.* 97, *eloquentia quam suspicerent omnes*; *De Offic.* 2, 36, *eos viros suspiciunt*; *Ad Fam.* 10, 9, 2, *honores praemiaque vestra suspicio.*

388. **contemptam**: "despicable." Cf. *incorruptus*, "incorrupt-

ible"; *invictus*, "invincible"; *acceptus*, "acceptable," etc. The verbal adjective *contemptabilis* was not in use in Cicero's time.

391. sensum diligendi . . . benevolentiae caritatem: chiasmus. Cf. l. 333, *sensu amandi.* **facta significatione:** "when evidence of moral worth has been given."

392. Quam qui adpetiverunt: "those who have made this their aim"; i. e., *caritatem benevolentiae.* For the double relative see *Cato Maior*, § 2, *Cui qui pareat ;* § 64, *quibus qui splendide usi sunt.* **adplicant se et propius admovent:** hysteron proteron (ὕστερον πρότερον), i. e., inverting the logical sequence by putting the first act after the second. Cf. l. 332, *applicatione magis animi.*

393. usu . . . et moribus: "society and character." **pares et aequales:** these words are synonymous; and yet there is a distinction. *Par* ordinarily refers to quantity, *aequales* to quality. Cf. l. 651, *pariter aequaliterque ; De Orat.* 123, *par et aequalis oratio.*

394. ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum: cf. l. 321, *ut dandis recipiendisque meritis.*

396. haec: i. e., *hoc* attracted into the case of *certatio.* Cf. l. 14, *eum sermonem ;* l. 203, *eam sapientiam . . . quam.*

398. quam ab inbecillitatem: equivalent to a conditional clause, *quam si ab imbecillitate esset ;* brachylogy. **gravior:** "more dignified." Cf. *gravitas*, "dignity."

399. conglutinaret: a favorite figure with Cicero.

402. ad haec: sc. *respondere*, or *dicere.* Fannius here interrupts Lælius after he had finished this topic and was about to proceed to another phase of the subject.

404. meo iure: "according to my right," as being his senior.

§ 33. 405. Recte tu quidem: for a similar ellipsis, see l. 86.

CHAPTER X

408. Quamquam: "and yet"; corrective as in l. 359. Lælius seems to agree fully with Scipio on this point.

410. expediret: sc. *utrique.*

411. sentiretur: sc. *ab utroque.* The sequence is secondary because *incidere* depends upon *dicebat*, above.

412. saepe: modifies *mutari* and is further explained by *alias . . . alias*, "at one time . . . at another time." **aetate gravescente:** "as age grows more burdensome."

413. Atque earum rerum . . . aetatis: "and he used to take an illustration of these changes from the analogy of early youth." *Atque*, as often, indicates the transition from a general statement to a particular case. *Capiebat* shows that this sentence is not a part of Scipio's view, but a statement injected by Lælius himself, although

the following *quod*-clause probably contains the reason assigned by Scipio. What would the indicative in the *quod*-clause indicate here with respect to the reason?

414. **summi**: "profoundest."

415. **praetexta toga**: cf. l. 4, *virili toga*. **ponerentur**: for *deponere*, "to lay aside"; perhaps because of association with *toga praetexta*, since "to lay aside the boy's toga" is *togam praetextam ponere*.

§ 34. 415. **sin**: indicates ordinarily that a conditional clause precedes; but not so here, except in so far as a condition is implied in the preceding clause, *quod . . . ponerentur*.

416. **dirimi . . . labefactari**: dependent upon *dicebat* above, introducing Scipio's views.

417. **contentione . . . uxoriae condicionis**: "rivalry in winning a wife." For the use of the objective genitive *uxoriae*, cf. *maerore funeris* and also *honoris contentionem* below.

418. **alicuius**: = *alius cuius*, "some other."

419. **labefactari**: sc. *eam*, referring to *amicitiam*. The word continues the metaphor involved in the nautical expression *provecti*. **si in honoris contentionem incidissent**: "if they happen to be rival candidates for office."

421. **in plerisque**: contrasted with *in optimis quibusque*. In the latter phrase the unusual plural form is used for the singular *optimo cuique*, because the friends are apparently considered in pairs.

423. **ex quo . . . exstitisse**: the infinitive, not the subjunctive, is used, because the relative clause is coördinate, not subordinate (*ex quo* = *nam ex eo*).

§ 35. 424. **discidia**: "discussions." Cf. l. 283, *discidiis*. **plerumque iusta**: "in the main, justifiable." But see l. 700, *ut minus iustae amicorum voluntates*, etc., where the terms of friendship are made to include acquiescence in a wrong, to some extent.

426. **ut . . . essent**: explanatory of *quod rectum non esset postularetur*.

427. **quod qui recusarent**: *quod* here is not a relative, but a conjunction. **quamvis honeste**: "however honorable the motives back of their action."

429. **quidvis**: "anything you will." **ab amico . . . profiteri**: note the alliteration.

433. **quasi fata**: *quasi* here, as often, is employed to tone down the bold use of *fata*, which ordinarily is applied only to men. **omnia subterfugere**: subject of *videri*. *Subterfugere* keeps up the metaphor involved in *impendere*.

435. **sapientiae . . . felicitatis**: sc. *esse*; genitive of characteristic. Cf. l. 83, *humanitatis tuae*.

CHAPTER XI

§ 36. 436. **placet**: sc. *nobis*.

437. **quatenus . . . debeat**: "how far affection ought to go in friendship." **Numne**: a very rare form. Cf. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 31, 88, *Quid ? Deum ipsum numne vidisti.*

438. **Coriolanus**: Gaius Marcus Coriolanus, a distinguished Roman patrician. According to the familiar legend, when he was banished in 491 B. C., because he opposed the distribution of provisions during a scarcity at Rome, he fled to the Volscians and, to gratify his vindictive spirit, led an army of Volscians against Rome. After all other means of conciliation had failed, his mother and his wife at the head of a band of Roman matrons finally persuaded him to spare the city. (Livy, 2, 33–40; and see Shakespeare's play, *Coriolanus.*)

439. **cum Coriolano**: for *cum eo,* which would be less emphatic. **Vecellinum . . . Maelium**: cf. l. 349, *Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium.*

§ 37. 440. **Tib. quidem Gracchum**: the insertion of *quidem* here serves to call attention especially to the illustration. Tiberius Gracchus, the agrarian agitator, was born 163 B. C. and murdered in 133 B. C. He championed the cause of the common people of Rome and urged that the wealth left Rome by Attalus, king of Pergamum, should be distributed among the agrarians. For his ardent advocacy of this proposition he was killed as a demagogue. By the use of this illustration Cicero aligns himself with the aristocrats and justifies the murder of Gracchus.

441. **Q. Tuberone**: Quintus Ælius Tubero was the grandson of L. Æmilius Paulus and the nephew of Scipio the younger. As tribune in 133 B. C. he vigorously opposed the plans of the Gracchi. He was a strict Stoic and figures as one of the speakers in the *De Re Publica.* Cf. l. 1127, *ut in Q. Tuberonis.* **aequalibusque amicis**: "and other contemporaries who were his friends."

443. **C. Blossius**: Gaius Blossius, of Cumæ, a Stoic philosopher, was believed to have aided and abetted Tiberius Gracchus in his agrarian reforms and on being thus accused, he fled from Rome.

444. **aderam . . . in consilio**: "was present as adviser to." **Laenati et Rupilio**: P. Popilius Lænas and Publius Rupilius as consuls in 132 B. C. were assigned the task of prosecuting the accomplices of Tiberius Gracchus. They were both condemned a few years later for cruel and illegal conduct during their prosecution and were banished.

446. **quod . . . fecisset**: "that he had regarded Tiberius Gracchus so highly." *Tanti* is a genitive of value after *facere* ("to esteem").

447. **quidquid ille vellet**: subjunctive by attraction.

448. **si . . . vellet**: an ideal condition viewed from the point of view of the past. Cf. l. 110, *Nisi . . . vellet.*

449. **inquit**: cf. l. 26, *inquam.*

450. **Videtis . . . vox**: sc. *sit.* Cicero hardly ever omits the verb in indirect questions. But see *De Officiis* I, 152, *comparatis de duobus utrum honestius.* Some editors explain this as a direct exclamation on the principle of parataxis and supply *erat* simply. **vel plus quam dixit**: sc. *se facturum esse*, "even more than he said he would do."

452. **praefuit**: Blossius is said to have instigated Ti. Gracchus to the course which led to his undoing, and to have urged him to disregard certain bad omens even on the last day of his life. **comitem . . . ducem**: cf. l. 1054, *ut facile ducem populi Romani non comitem diceres ; Ad Fam.* 10, 3, 2, *duce natura comite fortuna.* **illius furoris**: cf. l. 375, *virtutis eius.*

453. **hac amentia**: ablative of cause. **quaestione nova**: the special court of inquiry conducted by the consuls.

454. **ad hostes**: Blossius fled to Aristonicus in Asia, the pretender to the throne of Pergamus which Attalus, on his death-bed, had willed to the Roman people. **poenas persolvit**: upon the defeat of Aristonicus by the Romans in 130 B. C., Blossius committed suicide. Observe how the omission of the conjunctions (asyndeton) contributes to the vividness of the narrative.

455. **Nulla**: especially emphatic as indicated by its position.

456. **peccaveris . . . defeceris**: Latin is more exact than English in the use of tenses, as the present example shows. Cf. l. 261, *verteris.*

457. **conciliatrix . . . opinio**: observe the chiastic order. Cicero is fond of feminine nouns of agency in *trix.* Cf. *assentatio vitiorum adiutrix.* **virtutis**: = *de virtute.* Cf. l. 375, *virtutis ;* l. 417, *contentione . . . condicionis.*

§ 38. 459. **Quod si rectum statuerimus**: "now if we should determine it as right."

460. **perfecta quidem sapientia**: "if we were endowed with perfect knowledge."

462. **qui ante oculos**: note that the several classes here enumerated are arranged in the order of climax. *Quos novit vita communis* embraces them all.

463. **Ex hoc numero**: an example of attraction, for *ex horum numero.*

465. **ad sapientiam**: i.e., the ideal wisdom of the Stoics. Cf. l. 216, *viros bonos . . . quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.*

§ 39. 466. **Videmus**: *i. e.*, in the records; = *scriptum videmus.* Cf. *Academ.* 2, 129, *nobilis disciplina cuius ut scriptum video princeps*

Xenophanes. **Papum Aemilium Luscino:** Quintus Æmilius Papus and Gaius Fabricius Luscinus were colleagues in the consulship in the year 282 B. C. and again in 278 B. C., and likewise colleagues in the censorship in 275 B. C. Note the inversion in the proper names *Papum Aemilium.* This occurs frequently in Livy and Tacitus and the late Roman writers, especially when the prænomen is omitted.

467. **patribus:** "from our ancestors." *Patribus* is here used in the sense of *maioribus.* Cf. l. 37, *a patribus.*

468. **tum:** not strictly temporal here; perhaps equivalent to *deinde,* "in the second place."

469. **M'. Curium:** cf. l. 207, *M'. Curium.* **Ti. Coruncanium:** cf. l. 207, *Ti. Coruncanium.* **Igitur:** rarely found at the beginning of a sentence in Cicero, though frequently positive in Sallust and the "silver" writers. Here *igitur* is resumptive and simply renews the discussion of the theme. Cf. ll. 479 and 501, *igitur.*

471. **contendisse:** this verb in the sense "importune," as here, is usually followed by an infinitive or a final clause.

473. **in talibus viris:** "in the case of such men." Cf. l. 95, *in pueris.* **quid adtinet dicere:** Cicero makes frequent use of this rhetorical figure of præteritio, which consists in saying really in emphatic form what you pretend to pass over. **si contendisset:** sc. *quisquam* as subject and *quicquam* as object from preceding sentence.

474. **sanctissimi:** "purest."

475. **rogatum:** agrees with the unexpressed subject of *facere,* not with *aliquid.*

476. **At vero:** indicates a sharp contrast, and implies that the friendship between Gracchus and Carbo and Cato was not of the true type of friendship. **C. Carbo:** C. Papirius Carbo, an able, but unprincipled man, was named one of the three commissioners, upon the death of Ti. Gracchus, for putting into operation the agrarian law. As tribune in 131 B. C. he set himself in opposition to the aristocracy. As consul in 120 B. C. he made an unsuccessful effort to win over the aristocrats by undertaking the defense of Opimius, the murderer of Gaius Gracchus. In 119 B. C. he was prosecuted for taking part in the Gracchan troubles and anticipated his death sentence by taking his own life.

477. **C. Cato:** Gaius Cato was the grandson of Cato the Censor and of Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. He went over to the party of Gracchus and was elected consul in 114 B. C. As governor of Macedonia he proved an unworthy official. Later he deserted to Jugurtha and fled to Spain to escape punishment. **et minime:** sc. *acer,* from *accerrimus* below. *Et* here connects *C. Carbo* and *C. Cato* together with *C. frater.* Cf. l. 134, *sociis et Latinis.*

tum . . . nunc: at the time of his brother's death, Gaius was only twenty-one years old, according to Plutarch, and presumably not so zealous as Tiberius had been. But in 129 B. C., the reputed date of this conversation, to which *nunc* refers, Gaius had become exceedingly zealous. **C. frater**: Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, was tribune in 123 B. C. He vigorously opposed the election of Opimius as consul, who succeeded in overthrowing the Gracchan party in 121 B. C. Gaius Gracchus had perhaps too high a regard for his country to engage in open rebellion, but he was drawn into the political maelstrom which his own conduct had helped to create. When the crisis came, he realized himself a doomed man and fled across the Tiber where he hired his slave who accompanied him to kill him.

CHAPTER XII

§ 40. 479. **Haec**: explained by the following *ut*-clause. **ut neque . . . nec**: used for the more common *ut neve . . . neve*, or *ne aut . . . aut*.

480. **Turpis enim excusatio**: "for its own poor excuse."

481. **ceteris**: cf. l. 36, *ceteros ;* also l. 183, *de ceteris rebus*.

483. **eo loco . . . locati sumus**: "we are placed in such a position" *Eo* here is equivalent to *tali*. For a parallel to *loco*, see *In Cat.* 2, 1, 1, *Loco ille motus est cum est ex urbe depulsus*.

484. **nos**: i. e., the Roman people in general, and not merely Lælius and his interlocutors in the dialogue.

485. **de spatio curriculoque**: perhaps little distinction is to be made here between these two terms (lit., "from its course and its career"). Figures from the race-course soon found their way into the everyday parlance of the Romans, as they do with us. Cf. 1131, *tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad calcem . . . pervenire ; Cato Maior*, § 38, *haec curricula mentis ;* § 83, *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari*.

§ 41. 486. **Tib. Gracchus**: cf. l. 440.

487. **vel regnavit**: *vel*=*vel potius*, "or rather." **is quidem**: for emphasis; *quidem* focuses attention upon *is* which refers to *Tib. Gracchus*. Cf. l. 79, *quidem*.

489. **P. Scipione**: not Africanus Minor, but P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, who murdered Ti. Gracchus. He is sometimes referred to as pontifex (cf. *In Cat.* 1, 3) to distinguish him from Africanus. He was sent by the senate as an ambassador to Asia to remove him from the fury of the populace. For a parallel to the construction *in P. Scipione*, see l. 95, *in pueris*. **non queo**: Cicero writes *non queo* rather than *nequeo* in the first person singular.

Cf. l. 250, *vix queo.* **Nam Carbonem:** an ellipsis. "It is hardly worth while to mention Carbo, for etc." Cf. l. 527, *Nam ;* also l. 1151, *nam quid ego dicam.*

491. **propter recentem poenam:** as it had been only four years since the death of Gracchus, the senate refrained from punishing Carbo lest the populace might be again aroused to violent measures, as in the case of Tiberius Gracchus.

493. **tribunatu:** C. Gracchus became tribune in 123 B. C., so that the reference here, when Lælius is supposed to be speaking (129 B. C.), appears of the nature of a prophecy.

495. **in tabella:** "in the matter of voting." The position of these words outside their clause shows that they are very emphatic.

496. **Gabinia lege:** the Gabinian law, passed during the tribuneship of Gabinius in 139 B. C., introduced the ballot for the former "*viva voce*" vote in the election of magistrates. **Cassia:** L. Cassius Longinus, tribune in 137 B. C., brought forward a bill to extend the ballot to the *iudicium populi*, juries in the criminal courts (*quaestiones*). The bill became a law despite the strenuous opposition of the aristocrats, who were thereby shorn, to a considerable extent, of their powerful influence in the *comitia* and the courts.

497. **Videre . . . agi:** an example of the common figure repræsentatio, which consists in conceiving past or future events as taking place in the present time. **multitudinis:** the same as *populum* before, probably changed for the sake of variety. **his:** i. e., the revolutionary measures. Why dative here? See G. 217.

§ 42. 500. **Quorsum haec:** sc. *dixi.* Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 13, *Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo ?*

501. **bonis:** i. e., good citizens, as, for example, the optimates. Cf. l. 199, *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* **ut . . . ne:** in final sentences both *ne* and *ut ne* are found in Cicero, and more especially in early Latin writers. Cæsar, Sallust and Livy are said to offer no examples of this locution. Cf. l. 515, *ut ne quis concessum putet ;* l. 692, *ut ne quando amare inciperemus ;* also ll. 755, 888.

503. **in magna aliqua re publica peccantibus:** "while sinning in some public affair of great moment." Cf. *Ad Att.* 7, 1, 3.

506. **impietatis:** "an act of sacrilege." The Republic being established under religious auspices, whoever plotted against it was deemed guilty of an act of sacrilege. **Quis clarior . . . quis potentior:** for the omission of the verb, compare l. 252, *quid dulcius ?* and l. 373, *Africanus indigens mei ?* **Themistocle:** the famous Athenian commander who by his strategy helped the Spartan Eurybiades to achieve his celebrated victory over the Persians at Salamis, in 480 B. C.

507. **bello Persico:** i. e., the second Persian war (480 B. C.).

508. propterque invidiam . . . expulsus esset: Themistocles's treasonable designs were revealed in 471 B. C., through his secret correspondence with the Persian king. When confronted with the charge, Themistocles fled from Greece. **invidiam:** "unpopularity." Cf. Nepos, *Them.* 8, *Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam.*

510. fecit idem: i. e., *ad hostes se contulit.* Note the adversative asyndeton. Themistocles's banishment occurred in 471 B. C., and Coriolanus's in 491 B. C.

512. mortem sibi uterque conscivit: there were various legends current among the Romans as to the death of Themistocles and Coriolanus. The story of suicide is believed not to repose on a basis of fact. Thucydides (I, 68) is authority for the statement that Themistocles died a natural death at Magnesia in Asia Minor, and Livy (2, 40, 10) affirms that Coriolanus lived to a ripe old age, among the Volsci.

§ 43. **513. talis . . . consensio:** i. e., such a relation between unworthy citizens as that described in §§ 37 and 41.

514. supplicio: stronger than *poena* in l. 504.

515. ut ne: cf. note on l. 501, *ut ne.*

516. quod quidem: "now this"; i. e.. aiding and abetting a friend who is waging war on his country. For *quidem*, see l. 79, *quidem.*

517. haud scio an . . . sit: "I do not know but (perhaps) this may some day come to pass." Cf. l. 234, *haud scio an;* also l. 604.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 44. **520. Haec igitur . . . pareatur:** a positive summary of §§ 40 to 43. Note the similarity of the first sentence of § 40 and of § 44.

521. honesta: "honorable," not honest. **causa:** "for the sake of," ablative of cause. Like *gratia, causa* follows the limiting word.

523. adsit . . . absit: note the play on the words. Cf. *Cato Maior,* § 33, *isto bono utare, dum adsit cum absit ne requiras.*

524. libere: placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis. **amicitia amicorum:** for a similar juxtaposition of words, compare l. 44, *ad senem senex de senectute.*

525. auctoritas: cf. l. 41, *auctoritate.*

526. acriter: emphatic, to be taken with the following clause. **res:** "occasion."

527. adhibitae pareatur: "it should be obeyed when applied." Impersonal construction with the dative after an intransitive verb. Cf. l. 499, *his resistatur.*

§ 45. **527. Nam:** somewhat elliptical. Cf. l. 490, *Nam Carbonem.*

quibusdam: Lælius here refers to the views of the Epicureans and Cyrenaics, which views he now proceeds to discuss.

528. **placuisse**: stronger than our "please." Translate: "by certain ones very remarkable views were entertained." **mirabilia quaedam**: a translation of παράδοξα which Cicero also translates sometimes by *admirabilia* and sometimes by *admiranda*.

529. **sed**: elliptical. Supply in thought, "it may seem astonishing to you that they found pleasure in discussing paradoxes, but etc."

530. **argutiis**: "subtle discussions." **partim**: "on the other hand." Instead of a second *partim* Cicero uses (in l. 537) *alios autem* as a correlative to *partim*. Anacoluthon like the present example is quite common in Cicero. **nimias**: "too intimate."

531. **satis superque . . . rerum**: "that every man has enough and more with his own business." *Sibi*, a dative of reference, seems almost pleonastic.

532. **alienis**: cf. l. 254, *illis*.

534. **habenas habere**: note the tautophony. Cf. l. 250, *vita vitalis*. **quas adducas**: "check," "draw taut." Relative of purpose.

535. **caput**: "the chief essential." Cf. l. 790, *maximum est*. **securitatem**: "freedom from care." Seyffert remarks that Cicero uses this word to translate the εὐθυμία ("cheerfulness") of Democritus and the ἀπάθεια ("absence of emotion") of the Stoics and the ἡδονή ("enjoyment") of Epicurus.

536. **qua . . . possit**: in Oratio Obliqua a relative clause, if it be coördinate with a principal clause, is ordinarily expressed by the infinitive with subject accusative. Therefore, since in the present instance *qua* = *et ea*, we should expect here the infinitive. But Cicero has subordinated the relative clause. Cf. l. 423, *ex quo . . . exstitisse*. **tamquam**: apologetic as in l. 273, *tamquam exemplar*.

§ 46. 537. **Alios**: correlative of *partim* (l. 530). Those referred to are the Cyrenaics or Hedonists (ἡδονή, "pleasure"), and the Epicureans. The Cyrenaics were the disciples of Aristippus of Cyrene who flourished in the early part of the fourth century B. C. **dicere aiunt**: Cicero makes sparing use of such a phrase as *dicere dicunt*. Cf. l. 622, *dixisse ferunt*. **multo etiam inhumanius**: "with much less of human sympathy." Cf. l. 592, *inhumana*.

538. **quem locum . . . perstrinxi**: "a point which I briefly touched upon a short while ago." Cf. § 26 *seq.*

540. **expetendas**: *expetere* denotes "to seek after purposely"; *appetere*, "to seek after eagerly." **ut . . . haberet**: irregular sequence. In quotations Cicero not infrequently lapses into secondary sequence after a primary tense as in the present instance (*aiunt*).

542. **mulierculae**: the diminutive here implies that women are weaker, and for that reason more the objects of pity, than men.

§ 47. 545. **O praeclaram sapientiam**: ironical, of course.

548. **Quae**: = *quanti*, "of what value."

549. **reapse**: archaic for *re eapse*, and equivalent to *re ipsa*, "in reality," more emphatic than *re* simply. **multis locis**: "in many cases." Cf. l. 263, *locis*.

550. **honestam**: "honorable," as in l. 521, *honesta*.

551. **Quod si curam fugimus**: "if we propose to avoid care"; a general present.

552. **necesse est**: *ut* is frequently not expressed after such impersonal expressions as *necesse est*, *oportet*, etc. Cf. l. 49, *velim*; l. 96, *cave*; l. 766, *oportet*. See G. 538, Rem. 2. **cum aliqua cura**: "with a feeling of regret," because it is hardly consistent with the nature of *virtus* to hate.

553. **oderit**: cf. l. 40, *meminisset*.

554. **temperantia**: "self-control."

555. **videas**: "you can see"; potential subjunctive. See G. 257.

556. **modestos**: "men of self-control."

§ 48. 558. **cadit in sapientem**: "falls to the lot of the wise man." Cf. l. 1108, *quae videtur in hominem cadere posse*.

560. **humanitatem**: "human sympathy."

561. **tollamus e vita**: cf. l. 545, *solem e mundo tollere*. **ne aliquas . . . molestias**: "to avoid experiencing some inconveniences on account of it."

562. **motu animi**: i. e., intellectual perceptions as well as emotions of the heart. **pecudem**: cf. l. 385, *pecudum*.

565. **isti**: i. e., the Stoics, who held that the wise man must not be affected by emotion.

566. **quasi ferream**: *quasi* is here, as often, apologetic and tones down the bold use of *ferream*, "hard as steel, almost." **volunt**: "will have it that." Cf. l. 367, *volunt*. **quae quidem**: "yet this"; adversative.

567. **multis in rebus**: = *multis aliis in rebus*, "in many other things." **tenera atque tractabilis**: "soft and pliable." **bonis**: "advantages," "prosperity."

568. **diffundatur . . . contrahatur**: note how the figure involved in the comparison of virtue to steel is still kept up both in the adjectives (*tenera atque tractabilis*) and in the verbs (*diffundatur . . . contrahatur*), of which *virtus* is of course the subject.

571. **non plus . . . repudientur**: an ellipsis. Supply in thought some such sentiment as "no more than cares and worries are a reason for neglecting virtue."

CHAPTER XIV

573. **contrahat**: the subject of this verb is the clause *si . . . eluceat* which follows. **ut supra dixi**: strictly applicable only to a written speech. *Supra* therefore appears to stand here as the result of an oversight on Cicero's part, who forgets for the nonce that he is reporting a dialogue.

575. **adplicet et adiungat**: subjunctive of purpose. **id cum contigit**: i. e., as often as the manifestation of virtue is noted; *id* refers to the clause *si . . . eluceat* above.

§ 49. 576. **absurdum**: sc. *est*. Cf. l. 252, *quid dulcius*, etc.

577. **delectari . . . rebus . . . animante . . . delectari**: the contrast between *delectari in animis rebus* and *animante praedito virtute non delectari* is rendered still more emphatic by the asyndeton and the chiasmus.

578. **animante**: usually feminine, but here masculine since applied to a human being, "man."

579. **redamare**: a specific coinage for this passage, to translate the Greek ἀντιφιλεῖν "to love in return." The term is found nowhere else in Cicero (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) and first appears again in Latin literature in the works of Macrobius and Symmachus (400 A. D.). Cicero feels that he must apologize for introducing such a phrase; hence *ut ita dicam*. Cf. l. 366, *ut ita dicam*.

580. **admodum**: cf. l. 14, *admodum*.

581. **vicissitudine**: "interchange." **studiorum officiorumque**: "acts of affection and service."

§ 50. 582. **Quid**: anticipatory question, the purpose of which is to focus attention upon what is about to be said. This construction is very common in Cicero's orations. The sense of the passage here is: "What do you think of the statement I am about to make?" **illud**: explained by the following clause *nihil esse*, etc.

584. **similitudo**: we should rather have expected here the accusative as coördinate with *nihil esse*, but *similitudinem* is attracted into the case of *quod*.

586. **propinquitate . . . atque natura**: "by natural affinity"; hendiadys (ἓν διὰ δυοῖν).

587. **enim**: regularly postpositive, standing second. Here, however, it stands third because *est* which immediately precedes it is important. **similium**: neuter plural of the adjective used as substantive, — rare. Cf. l. 270, *omnibus*; l. 384, *Ab his*.

589. **bonis inter bonos**: more emphatic than the usual formula *bonis inter se*. *Bonis* is a dative of possession with *esse* understood. **quasi necessariam**: a somewhat strong use of *necessariam* "inevitable"; hence the apologetic *quasi*. **qui est amicitiae**

fons: *qui* refers to *benevolentiam*, but is attracted into the gender of *fons*, the predicate attribute. Such attraction of the relative is common in Latin. Cf. *Phil.* 5, 39, *Pompeio enim patre, quod imperi populi Romani lumen fuit, extincto; Piso* 57, *levis est animi iustam gloriam qui est fructus verae virtutis honestissimus repudiare.*

592. **inhumana**: "unsympathetic," "without feeling." **inmunis**: "lacking in service"; lit., exempt from duty to the state.

593. **quae . . . soleat**: "since it is accustomed"; causal relative, *quae = cum ea.*

595. **vulgi**: "for mankind"; cf. l. 66, *vulgus.*

§ 51. 595. **Atque etiam**: "and again." Cf. l. 367, *ex inopia atque indigentia.*

596. **utilitatis causa fingunt**: "conceive friendship as existing for advantage." The reference is to the Cyrenaics. Cf. note on l. 537. For *fingunt*, cf. l. 206, *quae finguntur aut optantur.* **amabilissimum**: on the comparison, see note on l. 37, *maxime memorabile.*

598. **tumque**: "and (only) then": i. e., if it is bestowed spontaneously (*si cum studio est profectum*). Cf. l. 306, *tum . . . si.*

600. **tantumque abest**: impersonal as usual. But see G. 552, Rem. 1. Translate: "so far are friendships from being cultivated from a sense of need, that those who feel very little need are most generous, etc."

601. **opibus et copiis**: "on account of their wealth, etc."; ablative of cause.

602. **praesidii**: cf. l. 539, *praesidi adiumentique causa.*

603. **alterius**: Gen. after *indigeant.* Cicero uses the genitive with this verb far more frequently than the ablative, whereas the silver writers prefer the ablative. Cf. l. 374, *mei.*

604. **Atque**: "and yet"; corrective. **haud sciam an**: "I should be inclined to think"; a modest variant of *haud scio an.* Cf. l. 234, *haud scio an.* **nihil . . . deesse**: thus Cicero translates the Greek αὐτάρκης ("self-sufficient").

605. **Ubi . . . viguissent**: "for where would my affection have displayed its activity?" *Ubi* here is especially emphatic.

606. **numquam . . . nec . . . nec**: these negatives do not counteract each other, but simply intensify the negative idea involved in *numquam.*

CHAPTER XV

§ 52. 609. **deliciis diffluentes**: "given over to pleasure"; lit., wasting themselves in pleasure. The allusion is to the Epicureans and the Cyrenaics. *Deliciis* is ablative of means. Note the alliteration.

610. quam . . . cognitam: "which they do not know either by experience or by theory." *Habere* is sometimes found combined with the perfect participle and this is the genesis of the familiar idiom of *habere* as an auxiliary verb, as in the Romance languages. Here *habent cognitam* is but little stronger than *cognoverunt*. Cf. l. 1072, *exploratum habeas*.

611. pro . . . fidem: an indication of strong feeling on the part of Lælius. *Pro* as an interjection occurs especially with the nominative and the accusative. Like *pro di immortales*, the present locution appears to be a stereotyped phrase. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 16, 48, *pro deum atque hominum fidem*, also Pl., *Cu.* 694, *Ep.* 580, Ter., *Heaut.* 61.

612. ut . . . diligat: "on condition that," "so as to." **neque . . . nec:** cf. l. 479, *neque . . . nec.*

615. nimirum: (= *ne mirum*), "no wonder"; — "in which . . . no wonder . . . there can be, etc."

616. stabilis benevolentiae fiducia: "trust in lasting affection"; *benevolentiae* is an objective genitive, not a dative.

617. omnia semper: antithetical asyndeton. Cf. l. 49, *tu velim.*

§ 53. 620. dumtaxat ad tempus: "merely for a while." *Dumtaxat*, sometimes written *dum taxat*, is equivalent to *dum* (*dummodo*) plus *taxat* (a singular aorist subjunctive of a verb as to the etymology and meaning of which scholars are not agreed).

621. ceciderunt: i. e., when the tyrants fell from power.

622. Quod: refers to the preceding clause, *tum intellegitur*, etc. **Tarquinium:** cf. l. 349, *Tarquinium.* **dixisse ferunt:** cf. l. 537, *dicere aiunt.*

623. habuisset: note the force of the pluperfect; — they had been his friends once, but they deserted him in his distress.

624. gratiam referre: "to make return," "to repay" (either a favor or an injury). *Gratiam habere*, "to feel grateful"; *gratiam debere*, "to be under obligation"; *gratias agere*, "to express thanks."

§ 54. 625. illa superbia et inportunitate: "with that well-known haughtiness and insolence of his." Cf. *De Re Pub.* 1, 62, *importunitate et superbia Tarquini.*

626. ut huius . . . sic multorum: "as in the case of him, so in the case of many," — both phrases emphatic. **mores:** cf. l. 376, *moribus.*

629. Fortuna caeca: personified. Cf. *Phil.* 13, 10, *quod Fortuna ipsa, quae dicitur caeca vidit.*

630. fere: note the emphatic position and also the alliteration.

631. insipiente fortunato: *insipiente* is here the substantive, *fortunato* an adjective; — "fortune's fool."

632. **fieri**: = *esse*. **Atque hoc quidem**: cf. l. 413, *Atque*. *Hoc* sums up the following infinitive clauses, and *quidem* emphasizes *hoc*.

633. **commodis . . . moribus**: "affable characters"; ablative of description or quality. **imperio, potestate**: the higher Roman officials, such as dictator, consul and prætor, were invested by the *Comitia curiata* with special military power, which was called *imperium*. Other officers, such as censor, ædile, etc., exercised only the general vested rights of their respective offices, called *potestas*. **prosperis rebus**: *prosperis* seems to have been selected in preference to the more common *secundis*, for the sake of alliteration, and this is still further emphasized by the position.

635. **novis**: sc. *amicitiis*; dative after *indulgeri*. Cf. l. 499, *his resistatur*.

§ 55. 635. **Quid autem stultius**: sc. *est*. Cf. l. 252, *Quid dulcius?* **cum plurimum . . . possint**: "when people are very influential on account of." **copiis, facultatibus, opibus**: "wealth, riches, resources"; — almost tautological. Observe the asyndeton.

636. **cetera**: "other things," i. e., than friends. Cf. l. 36, *ceteros*.

637. **pecunia**: what does the etymology of this word indicate with regard to the early form of wealth? See Lexicon. Whence is our English word "money" derived? **famulos**: how different from *servus?* See Lexicon.

638. **amicos non parare**: adversative asyndeton. Note the alliteration throughout this passage.

639. **ut ita dicam**: apologetic for the bold use of *suppellectilem*. Cf. l. 579, *ut ita dicam*.

640. **eius enim est**, etc.: "for each of those things belongs to him who has demonstrated his superiority in power."

641. **istorum**: neuter substantive (= *istarum rerum*) with a tinge of contempt. Cf. l. 384, *ab his*; l. 587, *similium*. **vicit viribus**: alliteration. **amicitiarum . . . possessio**: "in friendships, however, each man's possession remains fixed and sure."

645. **Sed haec hactenus**: "but enough of this." Having finished the digression begun in § 45, Lælius now proceeds to consider the question how far we ought to go in friendship.

CHAPTER XVI

§ 56. 646. **Constituendi autem sunt**: *Constituendum est* is what one should expect here. But as a result of attraction to the construction of the following relative clause, we find the somewhat inaccurate locution, *constituendi sunt*. Cf. l. 723, *perspiciuntur quam sint leves*.

647. **fines . . . termini**: *fines* in a figurative sense is common

enough; but *termini* ("boundary posts") is rarely so used. Hence the apologetic *quasi*. Cf. l. 25, *quasi*.

648. **ferri**: "are held." Cf. l. 63, *ferebantur*. **unam**: the first view here stated is that entertained by the Epicureans, who, although they claimed utility as the underlying basis of friendship, still insisted that, in order to attain the fullest benefit of friendship, a man must love his friend as himself. Cf. *De Fin*. 1, 68, *quocirca eodem modo sapiens erit affectus erga amicum quo in se ipsum.*

650. **alteram**: employed regularly in an enumeration instead of *secundus*, just as above *unus* is employed instead of *primus*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 15.

651. **pariter aequaliterque**: cf. l. 394, *pares . . . aequales*.

652. **quanti . . . tanti**: "that a man be as highly esteemed by his friends as he esteems himself," genitive of value. Cf. l. 446, *tanti*.

§ 57. 653. **nulli prorsus**: "to none absolutely"; i. e., I accept no one of these three views without some modification. *Prorsus* ("straight-forward," "prose" as contrasted with *versus*, "verse" [*vertere*, "to turn"]) is an agricultural term, originally applied to the turning of a plow at the end of a furrow. The term later was extended to literary use.

656. **nostra causa . . . faceremus facinus causa amicorum**: double chiasmus. *Nostra causa* and *causa amicorum* form a chiasmus and the verbs furnish another example of chiasmus. The antithesis between *nostra causa* and *amicorum causa* (note the unusual order) is very sharply defined. In *nostra causa* is involved the protasis of the condition expressed in *numquam faceremus*.

657. **precari . . . supplicare**: sc. *aliquid*. The infinitives are explanatory of *quam multa* above, and are the antecedent of the following *quae*. **acerbius . . . vehementius**: cf. l. 26, *saepius*. Note the chiasmus again as above.

659. **non satis**: "not very." This sense of *satis* is not unusual in Livy and other writers of the silver age.

660. **multaeque**: "and so there are many."

661. **potius quam ipsi**: "and not themselves"; lit., rather than themselves.

§ 58. 662. **est, quae definit . . . voluntatibus**: "is that which limits friendship to an equality of service and inclination." Cf. l. 646, *in amicitia fines*.

664. **nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare**: "calling friendship to account in too small and close a manner." *Calculi*, "pebbles," were properly the means of counting in the *abacus*, and hence the use of this word here implies an accounting.

665. **ut par sit . . . datorum**: "that the account of credits and debits may balance." Note the mercantile terms here employed by

Lælius. Instead of *datorum*, the usual term employed by the Romans in book-keeping parlance was *expensorum*. For the use of the participle as a neuter plural substantive, see l. 7, *dicta*. **Divitior . . . affluentior**: *affluens* is stronger than *divitior* and implies the possession of greater wealth. Cicero uses *dives*, *divitior* and *divitissimus* rather than the contracted forms *dis*, *ditior* and *ditissimus*.

667. **reddat quam acceperit**: carrying out the figure implied in *acceptorum et datorum* above.

668. **ne quid excedat . . . defluat**: "that anything may fall out or be spilled on the ground." The figure is drawn apparently from measuring articles of trade.

669. **plus aequo**: a brief expression taking the place of a clause (brachylogy). This kind of brachylogy, though quite common in later writers, occurs in Cicero only with *aequo* and *opinione* which take the place of an entire clause of comparison. **ne . . . congeratur**: "that too much may be heaped up into friendship"; i. e., the scale of the balance in which friendship is weighed.

§ 59. 669. **Tertius . . . finis**: the author has changed from *sententia* (ll. 653 and 662) to *fines* (l. 646).

670. **deterrumus**: sc. *est*. **quanti . . . tanti**: cf. l. 446, *tanti*. **se ipse**: cf. l. 53, *te ipse*.

672. **abiectior**: "more despondent," than is meet. Cf. l. 26, *saepius*. **fractior**: "more shattered," than is meet. Note the alliteration.

673. **Non est . . . amici**: "it is not the part of a friend." Cf. l. 82, *humanitatis tuae*. **ille**: refers to the same person as *eum*. *Ille* is employed to avoid a repetition of *is*.

674. **eniti et efficere**: "to strive to bring it about"; — a kind of verbal hendiadys. **iacentem**: "cast down," "despondent." Cf. *abiectior* above.

675. **inducat**: a technical term meaning "to introduce upon the scene," or here rather, "to lead into." Cf. l. 25, *induxi*.

678. **Negabat ullam vocem**: "he used to say that no utterance." **inimiciorem amicitiae**: oxymoron. Cf. l. 274, *absentes adsunt*.

679. **amare oportere**: the subject is general and must be supplied, — "one should so love." **si aliquando**: cf. l. 340, *si aliquem*. **esset osurus**: the subject is the same as the subject of the infinitive clause *amare oportere* above.

681. **quem ad modum putaretur**: sc. *dictum esse*. **Biante**: cf. l. 68, *septem*. The saying is, ὡς δεῖ φιλεῖν ὡς μισήσοντα καὶ μισεῖν ὡς φιλήσοντα. This saying is attributed also to Chilon, another of the Seven Sages.

682. **impuri cuiusdam . . . esse sententiam**: "but that it was

the opinion of some low-minded man"; adversative asyndeton. The infinitive with subjective accusative construction here depends upon some verb of saying or thinking which must be supplied from the context.

683. omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis: cf. l. 385, *ad voluptatem omnia referunt.*

684. Quonam enim modo: "for how, pray?" Cf. l. 74, *quonam.*

685. cui . . . putabit: the indicative and not the subjunctive, because the conditional idea is stronger than that of characterization. Cf. l. 251, *quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit.* **inimicum**: i. e., a personal enemy, since a public enemy is *hostis.*

686. cupere et optare: *cupere* indicates a spontaneous desire; *optare* a deliberate choice. Cf. l. 206, *quae finguntur aut optantur.*

687. sibi: refers to the unexpressed subject of *cupere et optare.* **tamquam ausas**: *tamquam* is apologetic, like *quasi* (l. 25). **ad reprehendendum**: perhaps to be taken literally, "for catching up." Cf. *Academ.* 2, 139, *revocat virtus vel potius reprehendit manu.*

689. angi, dolere, invidere: used absolutely and forming a forcible climax.

§ 60. **690. cuiuscumque**: cf. l. 681, *a Biante dictum esse.* **ad tollendam amicitiam valet**: "has the effect of undermining friendship."

692. ut ne: cf. l. 501, *ut ne.*

693. odisse: cf. l. 40, *meminisset.*

694. minus felices: = *infelices.* Cf. l. 700, *minus iustae.*

696. tempus: "occasion."

CHAPTER XVII

§ 61. **697. His igitur finibus**: "these then are the limits which, according to my judgment, should be observed." Cf. l. 647, *finis et quasi termini.* **ut . . . sit**: a substantive clause explanatory of *his finibus.* **cum . . . sint**: subjunctive by attraction. **emendati**: "blameless"; i. e., according to l. 199, *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.*

699. consiliorum, voluntatum: explanatory of *omnium rerum.* Cf. l. 172, *voluntatum studiorum sententiarum summa consensio.*

700. ut, etiamsi . . . declinandum de via sit: Laelius is here rather vague upon this nice question of casuistry, to what extent a man should condone the wrong-doing of a friend. It is probably true, as the words *modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur* imply, that the popular morality of the Romans permitted a man to go much farther

in helping a friend in time of trouble than would be permitted among us. But how shall we reconcile this proviso with Lælius's fundamental law of friendship as laid down in l. 199, *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse?* **qua fortuna**: the character of *fortuna* is to be inferred generally from the context. Here the context indicates that it is "misfortune." This is an instance of euphemism. **minus iustae**: another instance of euphemism for *iniustae*, which is rather a harsh term to apply to the aims of a friend.

702. **caput agatur aut fama**: "civil status or reputation (as a man) is at stake."

703. **est enim, quatenus . . . possit**: "for there is a limit up to which indulgence can be granted"; subjunctive of characteristic.

704. **Nec vero, etc.**: Lælius here registers a caution and points out that there are certain limits beyond which one must not go in assisting a friend in a case of doubtful propriety (*minus iustae*).

705. **nec mediocre**: litotes. Cf. l. 31, *non invitus.* **ad res gerendas**: "for accomplishing our aims," in public life. *Agere* is more common in this sense, but perhaps *gerere* was chosen because of the metaphor involved in *telum* (cf. *bellum gerere*).

706. **blanditiis et assentando**: though the silver writers not infrequently combine the gerund with the noun in a similar construction, Cicero rarely does. His practice would lead us here to expect two substantives or two gerunds. Yet he makes a departure from this practice occasionally, as in l. 836, *venandi aut pilae.* Cf. also *De Fin.* 3, 34, *genere non crescendo.*

707. **virtus**: a strong adversative asyndeton.

§ 62. 709. **cuius omnis sermo**: i. e., he discussed the subject of friendship incidentally when opportunity offered in his discourse.

710. **omnibus in rebus**: "in all other matters."

711. **diligentiores**: i. e., than in choosing friends.

712. **non posse dicere**: understand *homines* as subject. Notice the chiasmus with *dicere posse* and the repetition of *posse.* Cf. l. 830, *potuit . . . non potuit.*

713. **in illis quidem**: *quidem* calls attention to *illis* which refers to *capras et oves* and heightens the contrast with *in amicis* which follows.

714. **quasi signa quaedem et notas**: these terms as here employed are strictly applicable to sheep and goats, hence the apologetic *quasi.* Cf. l. 25, *quasi.*

715. **ad amicitias essent idonei**: in reference to persons Cicero used the dative after *idoneus*, otherwise *ad* with the accusative as here.

716. **firmi . . . stabilis . . . constantes**: these adjectives characterize the *vir gravis*, the ideal Roman character of which dignity (*gravitas*) was the distinctive trait.

717. **penuria**: "dearth." Distinguish between *penuria*, "want," *paupertas*, "poverty," and *egestas*, "extreme need."

718. **expertum**: predicative accusative agreeing with the indefinite subject of *iudicare* understood.

719. **Ita praecurrit amicitia iudicium**: "so friendship outstrips our judgment."

§ 63. 720. **prudentis**: "it becomes a wise man"; genitive of characteristic. Cf. l. 82, *humanitatis tuae*.

721. **cursum**: i. e., the course of a team, as *equis* below indicates. The author keeps up the figure implied in *praecurrit* above. **quo**: = *ut eo*, "in order that thereby." **quasi . . . sic**: = *ut . . . sic* above. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 71.

722. **amicitia**: object of *utamur* expressed above. **periclitatis**: passive use of a perfect participle of a deponent verb — a common practice of Cicero. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 4, *eandem* (*senectutem*) *accusant adeptam ; De Fin.* 1, 3, *sapientia . . . fruenda est*. So often *meditatus*.

723. **Quidam . . . perspiciuntur**: "some persons betray themselves," lit., are shown up. Here is a confusion of construction as in l. 646, *constituendi . . . fines*. See note *ad loc.*

725. **movere non potuit**: "could not have influenced," lit., moved. **Sin**: for the ordinary Ciceronian *si vero*. Cf. l. 415, *sin autem*.

727. **honores, magistratus**: these terms refer to offices elective by the people such as those of the *cursus honorum*.

728. **imperia, potestates**: cf. l. 633, *imperio, potestate*.

729. **haec . . . illa**: these words both refer to the preceding *honores . . . opes*. *Illa* refers to the things conceived as remote, *haec* as near in thought. **ius amicitiae**: "law of friendship."

731. **neglecta amicitia**: emphatic, "even though friendship be disregarded."

732. **obscuratum iri**: the future passive infinitive, the subject of which is the idea contained in the preceding clause, — that of sacrificing friendship to political power. This form is of infrequent occurrence, its place being supplied by the periphrasis *fore ut* plus the imperfect subjunctive.

733. **non sine**: litotes. Cf. l. 31, *non invitus*.

§ 64. 734. **verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur,** etc.: as Bennett observes, Cicero perhaps had in mind some of his own bitter disappointments in politics, particularly his desertion by Pompey at the trying time of his banishment. **neque publica**: "public life."

736. **Quid**: cf. l. 582, *quid*. **ut . . . omittam**: cf. l. 94, *ut . . . omittam ;* also l. 969, *congressus ut . . . fugiat*.

737. **calamitatum societates**: plural because Lælius was thinking

of different instances of such participation. Cf. l. 281, *dissensionibus.*

738. **descendant**: "condescend"; figurative use implying something done unwillingly.

739. **Ennius recte**: sc. *dicit.* Cf. l. 251, *Ennius.*

740. **Amicus certe,** etc.: a striking example of alliteration. Cf. Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (3rd ed.), I, p. 82. This noteworthy line is an iambic senarius (six iambi). In the second, fourth and fifth feet spondees are substituted for the iambi thus:

⏑ –́ | – – | ⏑ –́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑ ⏑

741. **haec duo**: "these two things," in reference to the tests which are mentioned in the following clause. **levitatis et infirmitatis**: "changeableness and inconstancy."

742. **in bonis rebus**: sc. *suis*; "in their own prosperity." **contemnunt**: i. e., their friends, *amicos* being understood. **in malis**: sc. *amicorum*, "of their friends."

CHAPTER XVIII

743. **gravem . . . stabilem**: cf. l. 716, *firmi . . . constantes.*

744. **ex maxime raro genere**: sc. *esse*, "as being of an exceptionally rare class." For the omission of *esse*, see note on l. 203, *eam sapientiam.*

§ 65. 747. **Firmamentum . . . fides**: "the guarantee of firmness and stability is the loyalty which, etc." As its position indicates, *fides* is very emphatic.

749. **quod infidum est**: on the use of the indicative here where we should expect the subjunctive, see note on l. 252, *conquiescit.* **Simplicem**: "frank," "honest." **communem**: "affable."

750. **consentientem**: "sympathetic."

752. **multiplex**: "deceitful," opposed to *simplex* above.

753. **tortuosum**: "untrustworthy," "crafty." **non**: to be taken also with *consentit.*

754. **natura**: "naturally."

755. **ut ne**: cf. l. 501, *ut ne.* **criminibus aut inferendis . . . oblatis**: note the chiasmus. *Criminibus*, "accusations," is understood with *oblatis.*

757. **fit verum**: "is proved to be true"; i. e., according to his argument.

758. **initio**: see § 18 for the thought.

759. **boni viri**: genitive of characteristic. Cf. l. 82, *humanitatis tuae.* **quem . . . dicere**: "whom I may at the same time call a wise man." But see the sentiment expressed in § 18.

760. **duo tenere**: "to hold fast to these two principles." **ne quid**: "that there be no." Cf. l. 329, *nihil fictum*.

761. **aperte . . . vel odisse**: "even open hatred better becomes." *Odisse* is the subject of the impersonal *est*. For *vel*, see l. 515, *vel bellum*.

762. **deinde . . . repellere**: there is a want of parallelism between this clause and the *primum ne quid* clause above. But the free and easy style only emphasizes the conversational character of the essay.

763. **ipsum**: general, "oneself," ' a man."

764. **semper . . . violatum**: explanatory of *suspiciosum*. **aliquid . . . violatum**: " some injustice has been done."

§ 66. 765. **Accedat . . . oportet**: "it is proper to add to this a certain pleasantness in speech and manners." On the construction of *accedat*, see l. 50, *avertas*.

766. **haudquaquam mediocre**: litotes. Cf. l. 31, *non invitus*.

767. **condimentum amicitiae**: "no slight relish to friendship." **in omni re**: a prepositional phrase with adjectival force. Cf. l. 233, *cum benevolentia consensio*.

768. **illa quidem**: cf. l. 86, *quidem*. **remissior**: "more free"; lit., more relaxed.

770. **facilitatemque**: "affability." **proclivior**: "more inclined." Cf. l. 494, *proclivis*.

CHAPTER XIX

§ 67. 771. **Existit autem hoc loco**: "but there rises at this point."

772. **subdifficilis**: note the weakening force of *sub* in composition with *difficilis*; "somewhat difficult."

773. **vetulis**: the diminutive denotes something of contempt here; "poor old." Cf. *vetula*, "poor old woman." On the force of diminutives in general, see L. 267–269.

774. **homine**: in a contemptuous sense; "a human being."

775. **satietates**: note the concrete effect of the plural. Cf. l. 738, *societates*.

776. **veterrima quaeque**: sc. *amicitia*. Cf. l. 422, *optimis quibusque*. **quae vetustatem ferunt**: "which improve with age": lit., which bear age. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 65, *non omne vinum vetustate coacescit*.

777. **verumque . . . dicitur**: "and the proverb is true which says."

778. **multos modios salis**: i. e., we men must live together in close daily intercourse to know each other fully and to develop true friendship.

779. **munus**: "the function," i. e., the purpose of friendship.

§ 68. 779. **Novitates**: sc. *amicitiarum;* "new friendships," in contrast with *vetustas*, mentioned below.

780. **ut . . . appareat**: an *ut*-clause after *spem* occurs far more frequently in pre-classical and ante-classical writers than in authors of the golden age. **herbis**: i. e., the young grain in the blade. **non fallacibus**: "productive," implying that the young grain in the blade does not promise more than it will yield in the actual harvest. Horace characterizes an unproductive farm as *mendax* (*Fundusque mendax, Car.* 3, 1, 30).

781. **illae quidem**: in reference to *novitates* and connoting a concessive idea. Cf. l. 768, *illa quidem*. **vetustas**: here, as often, in the sense of "old acquaintance." Cf. l. 838, *vetustatis;* also *Ad Fam.* 13, 32, *vetustate coniunctos*.

783. **quin . . . utatur**: "who does not use"; *quin* being equivalent to *qui non*. **quo consuevit**: sc. *uti*.

788. **montuosis etiam**: Cicero possessed more appreciation of nature in its wild and rugged aspect than most Roman writers. Love of nature in the modern sense of that term was almost unknown among the ancient Romans.

§ 69. 790. **maximum**: "of the highest importance." Cf. l. 535, *caput enim esse*. **parem esse inferiori**: i. e., to put yourself on a footing of equality with your friend who occupies a humbler station in life.

791. **excellentiae quaedam**: "certain superior individualities." Note the concrete effect of pluralizing an abstract noun. Cf. l. 738, *societates*.

792. **grege**: literally, flock; but here it refers to the circle of Scipio's friends. The word is often applied to a school of philosophy, or a theatrical troupe. Since the term is employed here in a somewhat unusual sense, the author adds, by way of apology, *ut ita dicam*. Cf. l. 25, *quasi*.

793. **Philo**: cf. l. 151, *Philus*. **Rupilio**: cf. l. 444, and l. 830, *Rupilio*. **Mummio**: Spurius Mummius, the brother of Lucius Mummius who destroyed Carthage in 146 B. C., was an aristocrat and possessed considerable literary ability. His wit and ability commended him to the intimate friendship of Scipio with whose name his own is frequently coupled in Cicero's *De Re Publica*. He was a bitter opponent of the teachers of rhetoric at Rome.

794. **Q. vero Maximum**: Q. Fabius Maximus was the eldest son of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, but was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus whose name he took. He participated in the campaign of Pydna, in 168 B. C. In the year 144 B. C., he was consul.

795. **omnino**: "indeed," "it is true"; usually followed by an

adversative particle which in the present instance is not expressed. Cf. l. 1078, *omnino . . . autem.*

796. **is**: i. e. Maximus. The parenthesis which intervenes makes it necessary to express *is*; otherwise confusion might result as to the subject of *anteibat.*

797. **suosque omnes**: cf. l. 119, *liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos.* **per se**: "through his influence." **ampliores**: "more influential."

§ 70. 798. **ut . . . ut**: the first *ut*-clause is explanatory of the *quod*-clause; the second *ut*-clause is consecutive.

800. **ea**: refers, not to *praestantiam* which would require *eam*, but to the ideas implied in *virtutis, ingeni, fortunae*; hence neuter plural.

801. **nati sint**: the subject is *omnes* supplied from *omnibus* above.

802. **opes . . . dignitati**: note the chiasmus involved, *opes* referring to *fortuna* and *honori et dignitati* to *animo*; by helping their less fortunate friends to attain to honor and position.

803. **in fabulis**: "in the legends," such as those of Romulus and Remus, as may be inferred from the use of *deorum* and *pastores.*

804. **propter ignorationem**: their ancestors and families were unknown. **famulatu**: "voluntary service," as contrasted with servitude.

805. **cogniti . . . inventi**: *cognoscere* means "to ascertain by inquiry," "to learn by investigation"; *invenire* "to learn by chance," "to find out."

807. **multo profecto magis**: for the order compare l. 101, *quam id recte.*

809. **omnisque praestantiae**: "and indeed every advantage."

810. **confertur**: singular because *ingenium virtus praestantia* are conceived as forming one dominant idea of advantage. Cf. l. 151, *cum et Philus et Manilius esset.*

CHAPTER XX

§ 71. 811. **igitur**: introductory and transitional particle, "now," "then." **coniunctionisque necessitudine**: "in the close connection of friendship and relationship." *Coniunctio* here is equivalent to *propinquitas.*

813. **dolere**: cf. l. 81, *dolorem.*

815. **queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant**: "make some complaint or even some charge." *Aliquid* goes with *exprobrant* as well as with *queruntur.*

816. **officiose et amice**: "in a courteous and friendly manner." **cum labore aliquo suo**: "with some trouble on their part."

818. **officia exprobrantium**: "who cast in your teeth the favors they have conferred on you."

819. **commemorare**: "to bring to your recollection." **qui contulit**: the antecedent of *qui* is *is* which is to be supplied with *debet*.

§ 72. 820. **superiores . . . se**: notice the alliteration.

821. **inferiores**: perhaps better taken as accusative after *extollere*.

823. **contemni**: "slighted," "lightly esteemed." **non fere**: "rarely." **contingit**: cf. l. 98, *contingere*.

824. **etiam contemnendos**: "really deserved to be slighted."

825. **verbis**: i. e., promises of help.

§ 73. 826. **cuique**: usually occurs in the relative clause. Cf. l. 365, *quisque*.

827. **deinde**: cf. l. 650, *alteram*.

828. **adiuves**: subjunctive of ideal second singular (like *possis* and *diligas*). Cf. l. 261, *quoquo verteris*. See also the following sentence, *Non enim . . . possis, etc.* **sustinere**: sc. *possit*, from *possis*, "as he is able to bear." **neque**: we should expect the correlative *neque*, but Lælius changes the order of his sentence after he begins it and instead of a clause introduced by *neque*, he uses the clause introduced by *ut*. Cf. l. 64, *te autem*.

829. **quamvis excellas**: "however exalted a station you may occupy." **omnes tuos**: i. e., all your friends and kindred.

830. **perducere**: as Seyffert explains, the reference here is "to bringing through" all the various grades, such as the ædileship, quæstorship, prætorship, and consulship, — in a word, the *cursus honorum*. **P. Rupilium**: cf. l. 444, *Rupilio*. **efficere**: note that *facere* here would mean simply to vote for Rupilius as consul, not to bring about his election, which is the meaning of *efficere*.

831. **eius**: i. e., P. Rupilius. **potuit**: on the repetition of *potuit*, which repetition is necessary in Latin, though not in English, see note on l. 225, *potest*.

832. **deferre**: "to bestow."

§ 74. 834. **Omnino**: "in general." **conroboratis . . . aetatibus**: "only after the character, etc., has been formed." The inference is that a man must wait till the character has been formed before deciding whether the friendship shall be permanent.

836. **venandi aut pilae**: upon the lack of parallelism, compare l. 706, *blanditiis et assentando*. **habere**: apparently dependent upon the idea of obligation implied in *iudicandae sunt*, above. Some editors actually supply *oportet*.

838. **Isto**: here, as often, denotes a degree of contempt. **paedagogi**: (παῖς, "boy" + ἄγειν, "to lead"), the attendants, usually slaves, who accompanied the children of the wealthy Romans to and from

school, carrying their books and supervising their safety. **vetustatis**: cf. l. 781, *vetustas*.

840. **alio quodam**: "in an altogether different manner." Cf. l. 59, *alio quodam*. **Aliter**: i. e., if we fail to wait till our characters are formed.

841. **Dispares . . . distantia**: observe Cicero's labored style in the strained use of *distantia* (which he nowhere else uses), in order to continue the alliteration. *Studia* is the subject, and *mores* the object, of *sequuntur*. Translate: "For diversity of character is attended by diversity of interest," etc.

845. **quanta maxima potest**: "the greatest possible." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 41, *tanta . . . voluptate quanta percipi posset maxima*.

§ 75. 847. **quod persaepe**: the antecedent of *quod* is the thought expressed in the preceding clause *ne . . . impediat*.

848. **Nec enim**: the correlative is *et saepe* below.

849. **ut . . . redeam**: cf. l. 94, *ut alia omittam*. **Neoptolemus**: also known as Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. He was reared by his grand-father Lycomedes, king of Scyros, and was pressed into service in the siege of Troy by Ulysses, who induced him to take the place of Achilles because an oracle had declared that Troy could not be captured without his help.

851. **impedientem**: "endeavoring to prevent," — an attempted action. **audire**: "to give heed to." Cf. l. 990, *audimus*.

853. **quas**: = *et si eas*.

854. **mollisque**: *-que* is here not correlative with *et*, but connects *infirmus* witn *mollis*.

855. **parum iustus**: "unfair," "unreasonable." *Parum* is here practically equivalent to *non*. Cf. l. 280, *minus*.

§ 76. 855. **Atque in omni re, etc.**: a brief summary of the thought contained in §§ 73–75.

CHAPTER XXI

859. **necessaria**: "inevitable." Cf. l. 589, *necessariam*.

860. **vulgares**: "ordinary," i. e., friendships in general. **oratio nostra delabitur**: cf. l. 1109, *ad leves amicitias defluxit oratio*; also *Ad Quin. Frat.* 1, 1, 18, *ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea*.

861. **tum . . . tum**: "now . . . now." Cf. l. 146, *tum . . . tum*.

862. **quorum**: viz., *vitia in alienos*. **redundet**: subjunctive of characteristic; *quorum* = *talium ut*.

863. **remissione usus**: "by an abatement of interest."

864. **eluendae**: "to be broken off"; lit., to be wiped out. The word has special reference to wiping out a disgrace or crime.

dissuendae: "to be gradually dissolved"; lit., to rip open, to unstitch.

866. neque . . . neque . . . nec: the contrast is between *neque . . . neque . . . sit*, on the one hand, and *nec fieri possit*, on the other.

§ 77. **868. Sin autem:** cf. l. 415, *sin autem.* **aut . . . aut . . . aut:** cf. l. 866, *neque . . . neque . . . nec.* **morum aut studiorum:** cf. l. 845, *morum studiorumque.*

869. in . . . partibus: i. e., in politics; lit., in the parties.

871. ante dixi: see § 76. **communibus:** equivalent to *vulgares* above (l. 860).

872. amicitiae . . . inimicitiae: sharply contrasted, as are also the verbs *depositae* and *susceptae.*

875. Q. Pompei: Quintus Pompeius Nepos promised to support Lælius in the consular election in 141 B. C. But he broke his promise and himself undertook a vigorous campaign for his own election, defeating Lælius. Upon his election to the consulship as a *novus homo,* he began the siege of Numantia in the year 141 B. C. **meo nomine:** "on my account."

877. collega: i. e., in the college of augurs. **Metello:** Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, who was surnamed Macedonicus in honor of his defeat of the Achæans, in 146 B. C., was consul in the year 143 B. C. and censor twelve years later. He was very fortunate in that he filled all the highest offices of the State; and upon his death he left three sons who had been consuls and a fourth son who was a triumphing general. **offensione animi:** i. e., with no exhibition of keen resentment.

§ 78. **879. danda opera est:** "we must take care." Cf. l. 194, *opus.*

880. discidia: cf. l. 283, *discidiis.* **ut . . . videantur:** depends upon *danda opera est.*

881. extinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse: "to have died out rather than to have been stamped out." For a similar contrast, see *Cato Maior,* § 71, *Adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur ; senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis extinguitur.*

883. iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae: observe the climax in order, "quarrels, revilings, abusive language."

884. Quae tamen: refers to *contumeliae.*

887. Omnino: "in general," "upon the whole." Cf. l. 834, *omnino.* **incommodorum:** "annoyances."

888. ut ne: cf. l. 501, *ut ne.*

889. non dignos: in preference to *indigni*, to heighten the contrast with the following *Digni autem* (l. 889).

§ 79. **890. quibus in ipsis:** "who possess in themselves some

reason for being loved." It is perhaps best to accept Reid's interpretation of *quibus* as a dative of possession.

891. Et quidem: "and indeed." **praeclara rara:** sc. *sunt.* Notice the succession of words ending with the same vowel sound (homœoteleuton).

892. quod sit: subjunctive of characteristic.

893. neque: the following *et* is the correlative. Cf. l. 848, *nec.*

§ 80. 897. Ita: "thus," "in this manner." **maxime naturali:** on the comparison, see note on l. 37, *maxime memorabile.*

898. per se et propter se: "of itself and for its own sake." **nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt:** "and they are not themselves an illustration." Men do not see that they love themselves for love's sake, and they fail to realize that they ought to love their friends from the same unselfish motive. For this reason theirs is not the highest type of friendship.

899. haec vis amicitiae: placed first in the subordinate clause for emphasis. **Ipse enim se . . . a se ipse:** cf. note on l. 53, *ipse.*

901. Quod nisi idem: i. e., the same spontaneous love which one feels for one's self. **est enim:** sc. *verus amicus.*

§ 81. 904. hoc: explained by the following *ut*-clause. **in bestiis:** the animals are classified: 1. with reference to their place of abode, — air, water, land; 2. with reference to their natures, — tame, wild.

906. id enim: i. e., self-love. **pariter:** "in an equal degree." Cf. l. 394, *pares.* **animante:** "living creature"; cf. l. 578, *animante.*

907. ad quas applicent: subjunctive of purpose. Cf. l. 542, *appetere.*

909. quanto id magis: for a parallel in the word order, see l. 101, *quam id recte.*

910. natura: cf. l. 390, *natura.* **anquirit:** note the force of the prefix *an-*, as contrasted with *re-* in *requirunt.*

911. paene unum ex duobus: *paene* tones down the statement very much like *quasi.* Cf. l. 1030, *ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus.*

CHAPTER XXII

§ 82. 913. ne dicam: "not to say." Cf. l. 94, *ut alia omittam.*

916. Par est: "it is fitting." Cf. l. 751, *eligi par est.* **ipsum:** agrees with the unexpressed *aliquem*, which is the subject of *esse.* Cf. l. 718, *expertum.*

917. similem sui: after *similis* the genitive is far more common than the dative. Cf. l. 587, *similium sui.* **quam iam dudum tractamus:** cf. l. 757, *quam iam dudum tracto constantiam.*

919. **cupiditatibus**: i. e., those mentioned in §§ 61 and 62, who frequently undermine friendships and blot them out.

920. **aequitate iustitiaque**: *aequitas* denotes a view of justice which a man with a high sense of honor entertains; *iustitia* the mere technical view of justice in the eye of the law.

922. **neque quicquam . . . postulabit**: for the sentiment, see §§ 36–43.

923. **inter se**: = *alter alterum* ; to be taken with the verbs *colent*, *diligent*, and *verebuntur*. Translate: "and they will not only cherish and love each other, but they will also revere each other."

§ 83. 926. **in iis perniciosus est error**: "they make a ruinous mistake." **lubidinum, etc.**: "that in friendship the way is opened up to lusts and sins of every sort."

927. **virtutum**: placed first for emphasis; and in sharp contrast with *lubidinum peccatorumque* above.

928. **a natura**: here personified, as frequently in Cicero; hence the preposition.

929. **solitaria**: "by itself." For the sentiment, see §§ 30, 87 and 88. **ea, quae summa sunt**: i. e., the highest moral excellence.

930. **coniuncta et consociata**: "in union and alliance."

931. **altera**: = *alterius virtute.* **Quae si quos inter societas**: "and if this alliance exists between any." The anastrophe of the preposition results from the necessity of keeping *si* and *quos* (= *aliquos*) together. Cf. l. 779, *ne qua*.

932. **eorum est, etc.**: "their companionship to nature's highest good is to be esteemed the best and most blessed."

§ 84. 934. **in qua omnia insunt**: "which unites in itself all things." Cf. l. 383, *in . . . inest*.

935. **honestas, gloria, tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas**: *tranquillitas* and *iucunditas* together form only one member of this group of substantives, as the use of *atque* implies. If the enumeration consisted of four members, Cicero would have omitted *atque*. The last member then is an example of hendiadys, — "delightful tranquillity of mind." *Honestas* is here used in the ordinary Ciceronian sense of "morality" (*virtus*).

936. **ut et . . . et**: "so that on the one hand . . . and on the other." **cum haec adsint**: *cum* temporal; the mood is subjunctive by attraction.

937. **Quod cum**: "now since this." *Quod* refers not to *id*, but to the idea expressed in the preceding clause.

938. **virtuti opera danda est**: "we must pay attention to virtue."

942. **experiri**: "to make a test," for the purpose of ascertaining whether their friends are true friends or not. For the thought, see § 53 and also § 64.

§ 85. **942. dicendum est enim saepius**: for the thought, see §§ 60, 62, and 78. **iudicaris**: subjunctive of ideal second person.

944. cum . . . tum maxime: "not only . . . but especially." **multis in rebus**: "in many other matters." Cf. l. 567, *multis*.

945. neglegentia: "because of negligence." **plectimur**: "we suffer"; *plēctere*, "to beat," is generally used in the passive in classical Latin. Not to be confused with *plĕctere*, "to plait," "to braid." **praeposteris . . . consiliis**: i. e., we form friendships before we make a test of our friends to ascertain whether it is advisable to have them as friends. *Praeposterus* denotes something contrary to the normal order, "reversed"; hence *praeposteris consiliis* is an example of oxymoron.

946. acta agimus: the phrase originated in legal practice and was used of cases in court. The expression was of the nature of a proverb. Cf. Ter., *Phorm.* 419, "*Actum*," *aiunt*, "*ne agas.*" "Don't try a case already tried"; i. e., don't do an absolutely useless task. Notice the oxymoron.

947. quod vetamur: sc. *facere*. **implicati**: "attached"; lit., entangled. **ultro et citro**: "mutually"; lit., on this side and on that. This phrase is of frequent occurrence and is sometimes written without the conjunction *et*, *ultro citro*, as in *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 33, 84.

948. usu . . . officiis: ablative of cause.

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 86. **950. rei . . . incuria**: *de re . . . incuria*. Cf. l. 233, *rerum . . . consensio*.

951. Una: result of attraction for *unum*, "the one thing." Cf. l. 590, *qui est . . . fons*.

952. uno ore: "with one accord," "unanimously."

953. Quamquam: in antithesis to the preceding sentence and to the clause *omnes . . . idem sentiunt* below. The argument is as follows: If virtue which many despise is conceded to be desirable, how much more desirable then must friendship be which no one despises, but which all unanimously praise. **a multis**: i. e., the Epicureans.

955. quos . . . delectat: explanatory of *multi*. **tenuis victus cultusque**: "simple diet and plain apparel."

956. honores: cf. l. 237, *honores*.

960. ad unum: "to a man." Cf. Livy, 21, 42, *cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent*.

961. et ii . . . et ii . . . et ii: explanatory of *omnes ad unum idem sentiunt*, "all entertain the same sentiment." **rerum cognitione doctrinaque delectantur**: i. e., scientists and scholars.

963. **postremo ii:** in addition to statesmen, scientists and scholars and business men, even pleasure seekers also cherish the sentiment that life without friendship is really not worth living. **otiosi:** i. e., those not participating in public life. Cf. l. 181, *otiosi.*

964. **vitam esse nullam:** i. e., is not really life. Cf. l. 250, *vita vitalis.* This was the view of the Epicureans. **si modo velint:** *si modo* regularly has the indicative, but *modo* as a proviso requires the subjunctive.

965. **liberaliter:** i. e., in a manner worthy of a free man.

§ 87. 965. **Serpit:** "intertwines itself." Cf. l. 493, *serpit.*

966. **nec ullam . . . rationem:** "no avenue of life," "no profession"; lit., no plan of spending life.

967. **expertem sui:** "destitute of its influence."

969. **congressus:** placed outside of its clause and before *ut* for emphasis.

970. **Timonem:** Timon of Athens lived in the fifth century B. C. Soured and disappointed in early life, he withdrew from the world and led the life of a recluse. For this reason he was called by his contemporaries "the misanthrope" (ὁ μισάνθρωπος). He was made the subject of a dialogue by Lucian (120–190 A. D.) and of a play by Shakespeare. **nescio quem:** because of the unpopularity of Greek literature with the Romans at the time this dialogue was supposed to take place, Cicero makes Lælius appear to be unfamiliar with Timon's history. In mentioning some Greek character Cicero frequently resorted to the device of using *quidem, nescio quis* and similar indefinite phrases, in order to make Lælius affect an unfamiliarity with Greek letters. Cf. l. 286, *quendam virum.* **accepimus:** here, as often, in the sense, "to understand," "to learn." Cf. l. 69, *Athenis unum accepimus.* **is pati . . . aliquem:** a rather cumbrous circumlocution. Translate: "he could not help from seeking someone."

971. **apud quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae:** "in whose presence he might vomit forth the gall of his bitterness." The allusion is to Alcibiades, who was the only person Timon took into his society.

972. **hoc maxime iudicaretur:** "this conclusion (as to the absolute necessity for friendship) would especially be arrived at."

974. **hominum frequentia:** "the throng of men"; i. e., the world.

978. **cuique:** not the indefinite pronoun, but *cui* plus the connective *-que.*

979. **solitudo:** very emphatic as its position indicates.

§ 88. 980. **Tarentino Archyta:** Archytas of Tarentum, the Pythagorean philosopher, lived about 400 B. C. He was famous as an astronomer, mathematician and statesman. To his genius the world is reputed to be indebted for the invention of the screw and

the pulley. Cicero has much more to say of him in his *Cato Maior*, §§ 39–41.

980. **quod . . . auditum:** "which I have heard our old men (who had heard it from other old men) mention as a customary saying of Archytas of Tarentum, as I believe." *Quod . . . solitum* is the subject of *auditum* (*esse*) and depends upon the infinitive clause *nostros senes commemorare.* **ab aliis senibus:** to be taken with *auditum.*

981. **si quis . . . ascendisset . . . perspexisset:** pluperfect subjunctive because the ideal condition is transferred to the past in *oratio obliqua.*

983. **illam:** *illarum rerum,* "of those things." Cf. l. 14, *eum sermonum ;* also l. 20, *eam mentionem.*

984. **quae . . . fuisset:** it seems best to explain the subjunctive here, as Nauck suggests, as the words of Lælius; otherwise Cicero would have written *quam . . . fore.* **si aliquem:** cf. l. 340, *si aliquem.*

985. **semperque:** *-que* here is rendered "but." Cf. l. 245, *virosque bonos.*

986. **aliquod tamquam adminiculum:** "some prop, as it were." The word *adminiculum* primarily applies to the stake the vine-dresser set up for the vine to cling to and to run upon. As used in the present passage, Cicero feels that some apologetic phrase is needed; hence *tamquam.* **quod:** refers to *adminiculum* in the sense "someone to lean upon for support." **in amicissimo quoque:** "in proportion as he is an intimate friend."

CHAPTER XXIV

988. **quid velit, anquirat, desideret:** climax.

989. **nescio quo modo:** cf. l. 42, *nescio quo pacto.*

990. **quae ab ea monemur:** "which we are warned by her"; i. e., her warnings. *Quae* is accusative of the inner object, which is retained since the verb is passive. The preposition *ab* is employed because *natura* to which *ea* refers is personified.

991. **varius et multiplex:** cf. l. 1032, *sed* (*animus*) *varius commutabilis multiplex.* **usus amicitiae:** "experience of friendship."

992. **tum . . . tum . . . tum:** "sometimes . . . sometimes . . . sometimes." Cf. l. 861, *tum . . . tum.*

993. **sapientis:** pred. genitive of possession. Cf. l. 82, *humanitatis tuae.* **una illa . . . offensio est:** "there is one special offense which we must bear." *Illa* is explained by the following *nam et,* etc.

996. **accipienda . . . fiunt:** chiasmus.

§ 89. 997. **familiaris meus:** i. e., Terence, the author of the *Andria.* P. Terentius Afer was born at Carthage about 189 B. C., and early made his way to Rome, where he became an intimate friend of

Scipio and Lælius. He wrote comedies of which six have come down to us. His first play was the *Andria* (the Maid of Andros), which he produced in the year 166 B. C.

998. **Obsequium**: the line (Ter., *Andria*, v. 68) is an iambic senarius (cf. l. 740) and the scansion is as follows:

– ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑ – | – –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –

With the customary freedom of substitution in an iambic senarius, a dactyl occurs in the first foot, a spondee in the third, and an anapæst in the fifth. Terence employs the word *obsequium* with the meaning "flattery," but Lælius quotes it with a different meaning, — "complaisance."

999. **Molesta veritas**: sc. *est*. *Molesta* is emphatic. **siquidem**: "inasmuch as": frequently written as two words, *si quidem*.

1002. **culpa**: distinguish between *culpa* and *peccatis*. See Lexicon. **in fraudem**: here as often, in the archaic sense, "injury," "destruction."

1003. **igitur**: cf. l. 469, *igitur*.

1004. **habenda ratio et diligentia est**: since the Romans said *habere rationem* and *diligentiam adhibere* (not *habere*), there is here a slight zeugma. **monitio**: found only here in Cicero for the usual *admonitio*.

1006. **comitas adsit**: "let affability be present."

1007. **vitiorum adiutrix**: cf. l. 457, *conciliatrix amicitiae*.

1008. **non modo**: = *non modo non*. "Instead of *non modo* (*solum*) *non . . . sed ne . . . quidem*, the latter *non* is generally omitted when the two negative clauses have a verb in common, the negative of the first clause being supplied by the second; otherwise both negatives are expressed." — G. 482, Rem. 1 **libero**: substantival, "a freeman"; i. e., a gentleman. Cf. l. 965, *liberaliter*. **aliter . . . aliter**: "in one way . . . in another"; i. e., with a tyrant, flattery may have its place, but not with a friend.

§ 90. 1010. **verum**: "the truth."

1011. **Scitum . . . illud Catonis**: "for that well-known saying of Cato is a wise one." *Scitum* is from *scisco*.

1012. **ut multa**: = *ut multa alia*, "as many others of his are." **melius de quibusdam**, etc.: "bitter enemies do certain men a greater service." *Bene de aliquo mereri* means "to deserve well of some one," on account of favors done; hence "to render a service," which is the translation here.

1014. **illud absurdum**: sc. *est*. Cf. l. 160, *illa veriora*.

1016. **non capiunt eam capiunt**: the Latin idiom requires the verb to be repeated here. Cf. l. 226, *non potest*.

1017. **peccasse enim se**: infinitive with subject accusative depend-

ent upon *auguntur*, which is here regarded as a *verbum sentiendi.* **obiurgari:** sc. *se*, from the preceding *se.*

1018. quod contra oportebat: "whereas, on the contrary, they ought." *Quod* refers to the idea involved in the preceding clause, and simply serves as a connective, as Reid points out. *Contra* is an adverb here. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 84, *quod contra decuit.* **dolere . . . gaudere:** note the contrast.

CHAPTER XXV

§ 91. **1020. amicitiae:** cf. l. 324, *amicitiae.* **libere:** "frankly." Cf. l. 524, *libere.* **non aspere:** "in no harsh manner." Cf. l. 968, *asperitate.*

1021. non repugnanter: "without resentment." **sic:** it seems best to take *sic* as corresponding to the preceding *ut;* yet some editors take it as modifying *habendum est*, and as referring to the thought contained in the words *nullam . . . assentationem.*

1023. adulationem, blanditiam, assentationem: the order of these words is anticlimacteric, *adulatio*, "fawning," being the strongest. *Blanditia* (generally used in the plural) denotes "flattery" (mostly in an honorable sense), and *assentatio*, "adulation" (usually in a bad sense), "slavish assent to the opinions of others." **quamvis enim multis nominibus:** "for under however many names you will." Cf. l. 193, *quamvis.*

1024. notandum: "we must brand with infamy." **levium:** "unreliable," as opposed to *constantium*, "reliable."

§ 92. **1027. tollit . . . adulterat:** chiasmus. **idque:** refers to *verum*, not to *iudicium.*

1028. repugnat: "militates against."

1029. valere non potest: "can have no force." Cf. l. 226, *nomen amicitiae tollitur.*

1030. unus quasi . . . ex pluribus: "one spirit is created from several, as it were." Here *quasi*, as often, is apologetic.

1031. qui: "how." **uno quidem quoque:** "each one"; *unusquisque* being separated by the intervening *quidem* (tmesis).

1032. idemque: "and the same spirit." **varius, commutabilis, multiplex:** "untrustworthy, changeable, deceitful." Cf. l. 752, *multiplex ingenium et tortuosum.*

§ 93. **1033. flexibile:** "fickle."

1034. devium: "inconstant."

1035. vultum atque nutum: "according to the expression and nod." **convertitur:** "turns"; in a middle sense, "turns himself."

1037. Negat quis, nego, etc.: "if any one says 'no,' I say 'no'; if he says 'yes' I say 'yes.'" The lines are from the *Eunuchus* of

Terence (ll. 252 and 253). The meter is the trochaic septenarius, which is much used by the early dramatists. There are seven and a half trochees, but various other feet are frequently found in place of the trochees, except in the seventh foot which is generally kept pure. The lines are thus scanned:

◡́ ◡ – | ◡ ◡ ◡ | –́ – | – – | –́ ◡ | – ◡ ◡ | –́ ◡ | –
–́ ◡ | – – | –́ –

Here in the first verse we find the anapæst (◡ ◡ –), tribrach (◡ ◡ ◡) and spondee (– –) substituted for the trochee except in the fifth and seventh feet. The second verse hardly requires comment. **postremo**: "in short."

1039. **omnia**: here equivalent to an adverb, "in every thing."

1040. **Terentius**: cf. l. 997, *Andria familiaris meus.* **Gnathonis**: the parasite Gnatho, in Terence's *Eunuchus.* **persona**: "the character," "the rôle." Cf. l. 34, *persona.* **quod amici . . . est**: "and to receive this kind of friend into one's friendship at all betrays thoughtlessness." **quod amici genus**: = *amicum huius generis.* Cf. l. 129, *quo de genere mortis.*

§ 94. 1041. **Multi autem Gnathonum,** etc.: "but since many are like the Gnathos." On the use of the plural to signify a class as *Gnathonum*, see l. 246, *Paulos.*

1042. **loco . . . superiores**: "though superior in origin, etc."; *loco* (= *loco quo nati sunt*) is an ablative of specification after *superiores.*

1043. **vanitatem**: "emptiness."

1044. **auctoritas**: "influence." Cf. l. 41, *auctoritate.*

§ 95. 1044. **Secerni . . . internosci**: "discerned . . . distinguished."

1045. **adhibita diligentia**: "by the exercise of proper care." Ablative absolute, expressing means.

1046. **fucata**: "counterfeited"; lit., dyed (from φῦκος, "red rock lichen," used for dyeing woolen goods). **sinceris**: "genuine," "pure"; lit., wholly separated (from *sin*, "whole" and *cerus*, "separate"). *Sinceris* is contrasted with *fucata,* and *veris* with *simulata.*

1047. **Contio**: a contraction of *conventio*, "a gathering of the people," "a meeting." **imperitissimis**: the superlative used as a substantive.

1048. **popularem**: "demagogue." **inter . . . et inter**: the repetition is for clearness, in view of the intervening appositional phrase.

§ 96. 1050. **C. Papirius**: cf. l. 476, *C. Carbo.* As tribune in 130 B.C. Carbo proposed a measure providing for the reëlection of tribunes. See Livy, *Epit.* 59, *ut eundem tribunum plebi quotiens vellet creare liceret.* Scipio opposed Carbo's bill, which was defeated. However,

a few years later — at least before 123 B. C. — a law was passed which allowed tribunes who were going out of office to be reëlected whenever there were too few new candidates to fill the places. **influebat in auris**: "insinuated himself into the favor."

1051. **ferret legem**: "introduced a bill."

1052. **nos**: Scipio and Lælius opposed the bill and defeated it. Note *de me* later.

1054. **ut facile . . . diceres**: "so that you would have unquestionably declared him the leader of the Roman people, not a private citizen." Although Scipio at the time of his death was the recognized leader of his nation, he was only a private citizen, not a magistrate of any sort.

1055. **in manibus**: "well known"; lit., in everybody's hands. Cf. l. 1139, *in manibus ; Cato Maior*, § 12, *Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus?* The phrase *in manibus esse* sometimes is translated "to be engaged upon," as in *Ad Att.* 13, 47, 1, *omnia quae in manibus habebam abieci.*

1056. **popularis**: contrasted with the following *populi* with no little sarcasm. Do not confuse the two words, which have entirely different meanings.

1057. **ut . . . redeam**: "to recur to myself." Cf. l. 94, *ut alia omittam.* **meministis**: parenthetical and hence the indicative in the clause *quam popularis lex . . . videbatur.* **Q. Maximo**: cf. l. 794, *Q. Maximum.*

1058. **et**: necessitated by the intervening appositive. When the consuls are designated by their prænomens, it is customary not to employ *et*, as *Q. Maximo L. Mancino consulibus.* **L. Mancino**: Lucius Hostilius Mancinus took an active part in the capture of Carthage in 146 B. C., being in command of the besieging fleet. Upon his return to Rome he had pictures of the siege of Carthage painted and exhibited in the Forum. He thus won the favor of the people and was elected consul with Fabius Maximus Æmilianus in the year 145 B. C. **lex de sacerdotiis**: this bill contemplated abolishing the right of the priestly colleges to fill vacancies occurring in their own bodies and having the places filled by vote of the people.

1059. **C. Licini Crassi**: Crassus was plebeian tribune in the year 145 B. C.

1060. **transferebatur**: "an effort was made to transfer"; imperfect of attempted action. The aristocrats vigorously opposed the change in the method of electing the priests and the law transferring the privilege of election (*beneficium*) to the people was not carried till 104 B. C.

1061. **in forum versus**: the patricians, before 145 B. C., assembled in the *comitium*, and it was the custom for speakers to face in that

direction. After 145 B. C., it was customary for speakers to face toward the forum, the lawful place of assembly for the plebeians. Crassus's innovation, therefore, in facing the forum (*in forum versus*) was designed as a bid for popular favor. **agere cum populo:** the technical phrase for bringing business officially before the popular assembly.

1062. **vendibilem:** "agreeable," "popular"; lit., salable.

1063. **nobis:** i. e., Scipio and Lælius.

1064. **praetore me:** Lælius was prætor in the year 145 B. C.

1065. **re magis quam summa auctoritate:** Lælius was only prætor, not consul, and therefore the *summa auctoritas* did not belong to him. Hence he carried that well-known case (*causa illa*) on its own intrinsic merit rather than by the authority of his office, which was not then supreme.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ 97. 1067. **in scaena, id est in contione:** "on the stage, I mean in the public assembly." *Scaena* is not infrequently used in this sense. **in qua:** i. e., *scaena.*

1068. **rebus fictis et adumbratis:** "sham and misrepresentation." *Adumbrare* signifies "to shadow forth," "to portray incompletely," i. e., by withholding a part of the truth and not giving the whole of it. **loci plurimum:** "most scope" (Sidgwick).

1069. **inlustratum:** "placed in full light," in contrast with *adumbratio.*

1070. **tota veritate perpenditur:** "which is esteemed altogether according to its truth." *Perpendere* means literally "to weigh." *Tota* is predicate nominative.

1071. **ut dicitur:** implies that *apertum pectus videre* is a familiar saying. Cf. l. 213, *ut aiunt.*

1072. **exploratum habeas:** cf. l. 611, *habent cognitam.* **amare . . amari:** the subject is *te*, to be supplied from *exploratum habeas*, upon which the infinitives depend.

1073. **Quamquam:** "and yet." Cf. l. 359, *Quamquam.*

1076. **patefaciat aures:** cf. the English phrase "to lend an ear."

1077. **ipse sibi:** cf. l. 53, *te ipse.*

§ 98. 1078. **Omnino:** cf. l. 795, *omnino.*

1079. **quamque:** *quam+que*, "and how." **de virtutis opinione:** "fancied virtue" (Bennett); i. e., about an opinion which some one entertains as to virtue. Cf. l. 457, *virtutis opinio.*

1082. **ad ipsorum voluntatem:** "according to their pleasure."

1083. **cum adhibetur:** "is applied to."

1084. **laudum suarum:** "of their own deserts." **Nulla est:**

very emphatic as indicated by the position. The use of *nulla* for *non* is another evidence of the colloquial character of this essay. **haec**: explained by what follows.

1085. **verum audire non vult**: cf. l. 1010, *verum audire nequeat.*

1087. **nisi essent milites gloriosi**: "if there were no braggart captains"; an allusion to a stock figure in Roman comedy of which the best extant illustration is Plautus's well-known Miles Gloriosus. The parasite Pyrgopolinices in this play gratifies the vanity of the captain by the most fulsome and absurd flattery.

1088. **Magnas vero, etc.**: this line is taken from Terence's *Eunuchus* (v. 391) in which a braggart captain also figures, whose parasite is Gnatho. The captain has sent a present to his mistress Thais and asks his parasite Gnatho, who carried the present, how she received it. The verse is an iambic senarius with the ordinary freedom of substitution and is thus scanned:

– –́ | – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –́ | ⏑ –

agere: exclamatory infinitive. **gratias**: cf. l. 624, *gratiam referre.* **Thais**: Thais was a famous Athenian courtesan, noted for her beauty and wit. Her name was extended by the comedians to designate all women of her class.

1089. **ingentes, inquit**: sc. *Gnatho.* Thais the courtesan had said "*magnas*" ("great"), but Gnatho the parasite, in order to gratify Thraso's vanity, exaggerates her expression of thanks and expands *magnas* into *ingentes* ("enormous").

§ 99. 1092. **blanda ista vanitas**: "your empty flattery." Cf. l. 1023, *blanditiam.* **adlectant et invitant**: "court and invite." Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 57, *verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus.*

1093. **graviores constantioresque**: "the more influential and reliable." Cf. l. 716, *firmi et stabiles et constantes.*

1094. **animadvertant**: cf. § 8, also § 27.

1095. **Aperte . . . nemo non videt**: "no one fails to see clearly"; litotes. Cf. l. 31, *non invitus.*

1097. **nec enim facillime**: for *difficillime* (litotes). Cf. *nemo non videt*, above. **adgnoscitur**: distinguish between *agnosco* and *cognosco*, *scio* and *novi.*

1098. **quippe qui**: "inasmuch as he." The causal relative is often introduced by *quippe* ("in fact"). The mood with *quippe qui* is sometimes indicative, sometimes subjunctive. Cicero almost invariably employs the subjunctive. Livy uses either mood, while Tacitus follows Cicero's practice in the use of the subjunctive. See L. 1827.

1099. **det manus**: "surrenders"; lit., stretches forth the hands to be fettered, — an expression of military origin.

1100. **plus . . . vidisse**: "to have had the more thorough insight."

1101. **Quid autem turpius**: sc. *est*. Cf. l. 252, *quid dulcius?*

1102. **ut ne**: cf. l. 501, *ut ne*.

1103. **Ut me hodie, etc.**: "that you should have turned me round your finger and made sport of me to-day most richly above all stupid old men in comedy." The subjunctive is the usual mood in an *ut*-clause like the present, which expresses result and depends upon some verb of strong feeling to be supplied. *Inlusseris* is an archaic spelling for the classical *inluseris* (cf. *caussa, ussus*, etc., which were employed even in Cicero's time). The verses are iambic senarii, with the characteristic freedom of substitution, and are thus scanned:

– ◡́ ◡ | – – | – –́ | ◡ – | – –́ | ◡ –
– –́ | ◡ – | – –́ | ◡ – | – –́ | ◡ –

These lines are from a lost play — the *Epiclerus*, "the Heiress," — by Statius Cæcilius who flourished about 200–166 B. C. Only a few fragments of his plays are extant. **comicos stultos senes**: cf. *Cato Maior*, § 36, *quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes*.

§ 100. 1105. **etiam in fabulis**: "in the plays"; i. e., on the stage. Cf. l. 803, *in fabulis*. **persona**: cf. l. 34, *persona*.

1106. **nescio quo pacto**: cf. l. 42, *nescio quo pacto*.

1107. **de hac dico sapientia**: not the unattainable kind mentioned by the Stoics. Cf. l. 203, *sed eam sapientiam interpretantur quam adhuc mortalis nemo consecutus est*. **quae videtur in hominem cadere posse**: "which seems possible to fall to the lot of man." Cf. l. 558, *si cadit in sapientem*.

1109. **ad leves amicitias**: i. e., the friendships of the unreliable, as opposed to those of the wise and good (*perfectorum hominum*). *Leves* here has the force of *vulgares* (cf. l. 860, *ad vulgares amicitias*), or *communes* (cf. l. 871, *de communibus amicitiis*). **defluxit oratio**: "our discourse has dropped down." Cf. l. 860, *oratio nostra delabitur*. **ad illa prima**: the reference is to the highest type of friendship, which is found only among the good. Cf. l. 199, *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse*; also § 66.

CHAPTER XXVII

1111. **Virtus**: the repetition of *virtus* and the fact that Fannius and Mucius are addressed by their full names bespeak the strong feeling and seriousness of Lælius on this point.

1112. **et conciliat amicitias et conservat**: cf. l. 241, *virtus amicitiam et gignet et continet*. **In ea est enim**: note the emphatic position of *in ea* and the anaphora as well.

1113. **convenientia rerum**: "the harmony in all things" (Reid). Cf. l. 232, *omnium . . . rerum . . . consensio.* **stabilitas . . . constantia**: cf. l. 716, *firmi et stabiles et constantes.*

1114. **quae**: refers to *virtus*, not to *constantia.* **se . . . lumen**: chiasmus, also in the next line. **lumen**: cf. l. 342, *lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis.*

1116. **exardescit**: cf. l. 363, *exardescit.*

1118. **diligere**: (= ἀγαπᾶν) denotes "esteem," "regard" and is opposed to *neglegere, spernere. Amare* (ἐρᾶν and φιλεῖν) means "to love," in the higher or the lower sense, and is opposed to *odisse.*

1119. **nulla indigentia**: "from no sense of poverty." For the explanation, see §§ 26, 27, 29, and 46. **quaesita**: to be taken with *utilitate* only; "without seeking an advantage."

1120. **ipsa efflorescit**: "blossoms out of its own accord." For the thought, see §§ 30, 31, 32, and 51. **minus**: equivalent to *non.* Cf. l. 280, *minus.*

§ 101. 1121. **senes illos**: "those celebrated old men."

1122. **L. Paulum**: cf. l. 95, *Paulum.* **M. Catonem**: cf. l. 33, *Catonem.* **C. Galum**: cf. l. 95, *Galum.* **P. Nasicam**: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, surnamed "Corculum" ("little heart") because his fidelity to public duty endeared him to the heart of the nation, was the son-in-law of the elder Africanus and the father of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio who is mentioned in § 41. He was consul in 162 B. C. and again in 155 and censor in 159 B. C.

1123. **Ti. Gracchum**: the father of the renowned tribunes and son-in-law of Africanus the Elder and father-in-law of Africanus the Younger. He was twice consul, — first in the year 177 B. C. and then later in 163, and censor in the year 169 B. C. Cicero mentions him again and again as a conspicuous example of the sturdy Roman character, in contrast with his sons whom Cicero regarded as degenerates. **Scipionis nostri socerum**: see Introduction, 6.

1124. **aequales**: "contemporaries," "men of the same age."

1125. **L. Furium**: cf. l. 151, *Philus.* **P. Rupilium**: cf. l. 793, *Rupilio.* **Sp. Mummium**: cf. l. 793, *Mummio.*

1126. **caritate adquiescimus**: "rejoice in the affection." **ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis**: sc. *caritate.* Note the anaphora (*ut*). Cf. l. 441, *Q. Tuberone.*

1128. **P. Rutili**: P. Rutilius Rufus, a pupil of the Stoic philosopher Panætius, studied law under P. Mucius Scævola and became a famous jurist. He was consul in the year 105 B. C., later was governor of Asia and, because of the severity of his administration, was prosecuted and forced into exile at Smyrna. **A. Vergini**: Aulus Verginius, a contemporary of Rutilius, with whom he studied law under Q. Mucius Scævola. **Quoniamque . . . oriatur**: "and seeing

that the plan of our life and constitution has been so appointed that one generation after another is ever springing into being."

1131. **aequalibus**: cf. *acquales*, above. **tamquam e carceribus, etc.**: a familiar figure in which the course of life is compared to a race. *Carceres* were the stalls in which the chariots were kept awaiting the start; *calx* was the chalk line marking the goal; *emittere* was the technical term for starting the chariot off. Note the customary apologetic expressions *tamquam* and *ut dicitur*. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 83, *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

§ 102. 1133. **Sed quoniam . . . sunt**: "but since (all) things human are frail and transitory."

1134. **anquirendi sunt**: cf. l. 910, *anquirit.*

1135. **sublata**: singular; in agreement with the nearest noun. Cf. l. 151, *Cum et Philus et Manilius adesset.*

1136. **Mihi**: "for me"; emphatic; dative of reference. Cf. l. 116, *sibi.*

1137. **subito ereptus**: Scipio's sudden death gave rise to suspicions of poisoning. Cf. l. 129. **vivit tamen semperque vivet**: cf. § 13.

1138. **virtutem**: "the character."

1139. **qui illam semper in manibus habui**: "(I) who have always had it (the character) at hand"; i. e., to lean upon as a staff. Cf. l. 1055, *in manibus.*

1141. **maiora**: "undertakings (in thought and hope) of more than ordinary import." **qui . . . putet**: "without thinking that he must hold up before him the remembrance and conception of that famous man"; subjunctive of characteristic.

§ 103. 1146. **rerum privatarum**: genitive instead of the ablative with *de* (cf. *de re publica*) for the sake of variety. **plena**: regularly followed by the genitive in Cicero, though the ablative occurs also.

1147. **Numquam**: very emphatic; the negative is resumed and farther stressed in the following *ne . . . quidem.* Cf. l. 211, *ne . . . quidem.*

1148. **quod quidem senserim**: "so far indeed as I know"; subjunctive in a parenthetic restrictive clause.

1149. **idem victus, isque communis**: "the same mode of living and that, too, we had in common." Cf. l. 169, *Scipione . . . quocum mihi coniuncta cura de re publica et de privata fuit . . . et militia communis.*

1150. **peregrinationes rusticationesque**: Scipio and Lælius traveled together, took their outings together and spent their vacations together in the country. In reference to this practice of theirs Cicero says (*De Orat.* 2, 6, 22): *Laelium semper fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos cum rus ex urbe*

tamquam e vinculis evolavissent. On Scipio's travels, cf. *De Re Pub.* 3, 48, 6; 6, 11; and *Academ.* 2, 5.

§ 104. 1152. **cognoscendi . . . discendi**: *cognoscere* means "to ascertain," by investigation; *discere* "to learn," "to know." *Discendi* here refers to Scipio's and Lælius's further study of the facts they had ascertained by investigation (*cognoscendi*). Cf. l. 961, *rerum cognitione doctrinaque.*

1154. **recordatio et memoria**: *recordatio* refers to the faculty or process of summoning up the past, while *memoria* is the record the mind has of the past. The words are frequently joined as here, and sometimes *memoriae recordatio* also occurs (cf. *De Orat.* 124). **si . . . occidisset**: singular verb with plural subject, as in l. 152, *adesset.* The protasis of the condition is past, but the apodosis is present because, although the past is included, the present predominates. **coniunctissimi atque amantissimi**: cf. l. 18, *coniunctissime et amantissime.*

1156. **nec**: correlative with *et* (*si*). Cf. l. 848, *nec enim*, etc.

1157. **alunturque potius**: "but are rather strengthened"; *que* is here adversative, as in the familiar phrase *potiusque.*

1158. **si . . . essem . . . adfert**: the apodosis would naturally be the imperfect subjunctive, but the conclusion states a fact and hence the indicative. Cf. l. 357, *quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur.*

1159. **aetas ipsa**: "my very age"; i. e., his well-rounded-out life. **Diutius**: "a long while"; the comparative is frequently so used by the historians.

1162. **quae dicerem**: "to say"; subjunctive of purpose. Cf. *Cato Maior*, § 85, *Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem.*

1163. **hortor**: cf. l. 196, *ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis.* **ut ita virtutem locatis**: "to give virtue so exalted a place." Cf. l. 483, *Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus.*

CRITICAL APPENDIX

§ 2. **cum et ego**: the reading of P, followed by Müller and most of the recent editors. GD read *cum ego* which Halm adopted. BESV read *et ego*.

permultis: a conjecture of Schiche, adopted by Strelitz, Bennett and Nauck. The Mss. read *tum fere multis*, followed by several editors who take *fere* as modifying *tum*. Müller reads *tum forte multis*, so Meissner; but this is not satisfactory. Palæographically *permultis* seems the more probable reading since it might readily have been corrupted into *fere multis* of the Mss.

utebare: generally adopted by the editors Müller included. Some Mss. read *utebaris*.

§ 3. **Laeli**: several editors here follow the Mss. reading *Laelii*. But it is more probable that *Laeli* was Cicero's uniform spelling.

§ 5. **de amicitia**: Meissner (cf. *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 135, 545) considers these words an interpolation in both instances.

te ipse: so read PDE, followed by most editors. GBSV read *ipsum*, adopted by Halm and Baiter. Müller and most modern editors adopt the reading of PDE.

§ 6. **reliqua Graecia**: so Müller and other editors, following the reading of PD. The remaining Mss. transpose and read *Graecia reliqua*, followed by Halm and Reid.

§ 8. **multi**: so most Mss. and editors. But P has *multum*, adopted by Reid.

valetudinem: Müller writes *valitudinem* on the authority of P, as also in § 20 and § 22. But the preferable spelling is *valetudinem*, followed by most editors.

§ 9. **Galum**: most of the Mss. read *Gaium*, as they likewise read *Gaios* (21), but they read *Gallum* (101). Mommsen (cf. *Rhein. Mus.*, 16, 355) defends *Galum*, which reading most editors adopt.

§ 10. **utroque vestrum**: so GBSVE; but PD omit *vestrum*. Müller, Meissner, Nauck and Monet omit *vestrum* on the authority of P; Reid and Bennett retain. It is very doubtful whether the authority of P and D should be rated higher than the consensus of the other Mss.

§ 11. **minime**: so Müller and all subsequent editors. $PEb^2 S^2$ have *minimi*, however.

consul: so all the Mss. But Baiter, Halm and Lahmeyer bracket.

indicatum: so Müller and others. But Nauck and Monet, after Halm, read *iudicatum*, which has good manuscript support.

§ 12. **dictu**: so Müller and editors generally. P has *dictum*, which is obviously wrong.

§ 13. **haec nuper**: so PDE, followed by Baiter, Lahmeyer, Müller, Nauck and others. GBLV transpose as do also Halm and Reid.

Graeciam: P has *Greciam*, and likewise *e* for *ae* in several other places.

qui non tum hoc, tum illud, uti plerique: the Mss. read *qui non tum hoc tum illud ut in plerisque*, which Müller follows, obelizing the passage as corrupt. P has *ut implerisque*. Editors have noted that the omission of *dicebat* here with *qui* is without parallel. For this reason Gulielmius conjectured *cui* for *qui*, supplying *videbatur* for it to depend upon, at the same time changing *ut in plerisque* into *uti plerisque*. So also Putsche (cf. *Philologus*, 12, 300), and Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer and others adopt this reading. But this is as radical a change as the supplying of *dicebat* with *qui*, which reading some defend. Other editors retain *ut in plerisque* ("as in most matters") and explain it as referring to Socrates's practice of arguing both sides of the question for the sake of argument simply. But Deiter (cf. *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 84, p. 79) has shown that the contrast here intended is not that between Socrates's own views at different times, but rather that between Socrates's views on the divine nature of the soul and the views of other philosophers. In order to bring out this idea, therefore, Deiter would emend into *ut plerique*, and this conjecture is supported by the reading of one of the Laurentian Mss. (cf. F. Ramorino, *Rivista di Filologia*, 15, 261). Deiter later emended this to read *tum illud ait ut plerique*. Nitsche (cf. *Wochenschrift fuer Klass. Philologie*, 5, 524) suggested *uti plerique*. I follow Strelitz and Bennett in adopting this reading as being nearer the manuscript reading and more satisfactory. Müller, Nauck, Meissner, Reid and Monet have *ut in plerisque*.

§ 14. **adesset**: so PE, followed by Müller and most modern editors. The other Mss. have *adessent*.

§ 15. **introieram**: so all the Mss. generally and the editors. But Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 550) would emend into *intro ire in vitam*, claiming that Cicero thus wrote and the copyists corrupted into *introieram*.

§ 16. **quaerunter**: so Müller, Reid Bennett and Monet. But P reads *quaeritur*, adopted by Baiter, Lahmeyer, Nauck, Meissner and Strelitz.

erit gratum: the reading of all the Mss. and of most editors. But Halm and Baiter, after Beier, omit these words.

§ 17. **iis**: PDV read *his*. The editors generally read *eis* or *iis*.

§ 19. **aequitas**: so Müller, followed by Meissner, Strelitz, Reid, Nauck, and Bennett. Monet follows the reading of P and writes

aequalitas which, as Müller suggests, is perhaps due to the influence of the following *liberalitas*.

quia sequantur: so Müller and most of the recent editors, on the authority of P. The Mss. vacillate between *qui assequantur*, *qui sequantur* and *qui sequuntur*.

benevolentia: Müller follows P and other Mss. in retaining the spelling *benivolentia*, which the recent editors reject.

§ 20. **duos**: so Müller and most of the editors. But P reads *duo*.

nihil (melius): so PE, followed by Baiter, Müller, Nauck, Monet and others. The remaining Mss. have *quicquam*, which Halm adopts. Reid has *nil umquam*.

§ 21. **vitae**: so Müller and most of the editors, on the authority of PD. Halm reads *nostrae* after *vitae*, which has the support of the majority of the Mss.

§ 22. **Qui (esset)**: the reading of PVE, followed by most editors. The other Mss. read *quis*, which Halm adopts.

itaque non aqua: so most editors. Reid begins a new sentence, placing a period before. Brieger's proposed radical changes here (cf. *Beiträge zur Kritik einiger philosophischer Schriften des Ciceros*, Posen, 1873, p. 7) have not met with favor.

locis pluribus: so PDE, followed by most of the editors. But other Mss. transpose, *pluribus locis*, adopted by Halm and Reid.

§ 23. **Cumque**: so all the Mss. except P (*quamque*). Müller writes *quomque*.

imbecilli: so most of the editors. Müller writes *inbecilli*, after P.

ne agri quidem: so the editors generally for *nec agri quidem* of the Mss.

atque discordiis: so all the Mss. except G, and most of the editors. Müller, Meissner and Strelitz repeat *ex* before *discordiis*.

percipi: the reading of all the Mss., followed by Schiche, Bennett, Reid, Nauck and Monet. Müller, after Madvig, Baiter and Lahmeyer, reads *perspici*, as do also Strelitz and Meissner. There seems no good reason to depart from the manuscript reading which makes sense, especially since *percipere*, "to understand," is attested for Cicero. Cf. Merguet, *Lexica zu den philosophischen Schriften Ciceros*.

§ 24. **efferat**: the reading of all the Mss. except P, which reads *ecferat*, adopted by Müller.

uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem se esse: the reading adopted by the editors. The Mss. are at variance. P reads *uter Orestes esse*; GBESV *uter Orestem se esse*.

(si) quae: the reading of P, though the other Mss. have *qua*. *Quae* is the reading of Müller and most of the recent editors. Bennett reads *qua*. According to Neue, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3d ed., II, p. 467, both *quae* and *qua* are frequently em-

ployed by Cicero as an indefinite pronoun, and so either reading may be defended here. It may be a question whether P should outweigh the consensus of the other Mss. in determining the proper reading.

§ 26. **quod quisque:** the Mss. read *quo quisque*, except P which has *quis*. Some editors (Strelitz, Meissner, Nauck) emend into *quod quis;* others (Müller, Reid, Monet, Bennett) emend into *quod quisque*, which seems to suit the sense of the passage better.

§ 30. **sibi plurimum:** so PDE, followed by most editors. Some few editors transpose.

§ 31. **faeneramur:** so most Mss. and the editors. P reads *feneramur*, adopted by Nauck.

§ 32. **Ab his:** the reading of most Mss. and editors. Some few have *At ii.*

sintque: so all the Mss. But Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer read *suntque*, after Baier, and likewise *est*, two lines below, for *sit* of the Mss.

§ 33. **alias adversis rebus, alias:** the reading of all the editors, except Meissner who emends into *alias secundis, alias adversis rebus.* He maintains (cf *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 551) with Brieger that *secundis*, because of similarity of ending, was dropped out by careless copyists.

ponerentur: the reading of PDE, followed by most editors. Halm and Reid follow the other Mss and read *deponerentur.*

§ 34. **perduxissent:** so all the Mss. and the majority of editors. Bennett adopts the conjecture of Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher für Phil. und Pädagogik*, 135, 553) and reads with Meissner *perducti essent.* The conjectural reading is good; but the manuscript reading suits the sense demanded, and there is no valid reason for rejecting it.

§ 35. **odia etiam:** so PDE, followed by most editors. The other Mss. transpose, as do Halm and Reid.

§ 36. **Vecellinum:** the reading of most of the recent editors, after Mommsen's conjecture (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* 18, 598). The Mss. vary between *Becillinum* and *Viscellinum.*

§ 37. **Tib.:** most of the Mss. read *Tiberium*, which some of the editors adopt (Reid, Monet, Nauck). Müller, Meissner and Bennett have *Tib.*

Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis: Scliack (cf. *Jahrbücher für Phil.*, 139, 57) would emend to read *Tuberone Aelio aliisque amicis*, on the ground that the accepted reading is not quite in accord with the facts.

cum: the reading of all the Mss. except P (*quam*). Müller has *quom.*

Etiamne: so most editors. Reid inserts *inquam* after *etiamne*, on good manuscript authority and changes the punctuation.

Numquam, inquit: so most of the recent editors, on the authority

of P. The majority of the Mss. omit *inquit*, followed by some of the editors (Reid).

§ 38. **si simus**: the Mss. vary. PE have *simus si*, other Mss. have *sumus si*. Most editors including Müller have *si simus*.

vidimus: the reading of E alone, followed by most of the recent editors. Mommsen approved *videmus*, the reading of P, followed by Lahmeyer and Reid.

memoria: the reading of P, adopted by Müller and most editors. This reading was approved by Mommsen and is supported by the following passages: Gellius, 14, 2, 6, *Atque ego a maioribus memoria sic accepi* (quoting Cato); Cic., *de Nat. Deo.* II, 37, 95, *accepissent autem fama et auditione esse quoddam numen et vim deorum*. Reid and Bennett adopt the reading *memoriam*, which has good Mss. support.

§ 40. **aliquantum**: the reading of PB; the others read *aliquantulum*.

§ 41. **P. Scipione**: the reading of P alone, adopted by the editors generally. GBSV have the accusative.

quoquo: the reading of Monet, Bennett and Nauck. Müller, Reid and Strelitz have *quocumque*. The majority of the Mss. read *quoque quem;* P reads *quoque*, adopted by Meissner who explains it as an intentional archaism (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 557). On palæographical grounds *quoquo* seems the best reading, and admirably suits the sense the passage demands.

Serpit clam ea res: the plausible conjecture of Deiter (*Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 84, 79), adopted by Bennett. The Mss. read *Serpit deinde res*, followed by Müller who marks the passage as corrupt. Other conjectures have been made. Strelitz would change into *Serpit deinde res atque*. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 554), after Seyffert, would change *deinde* into *in dies*, and so he reads *Serpit enim in dies res*. Nauck reads *Serpit id in dies resque*.

proclivis: so PBDVS, approved by Mommsen and followed by Lahmeyer, Müller, Nauck and others. GE read *proclivius*, adopted by some of the earlier editors. Brieger (*Beiträge zur Kritik d. phil. Schriften Ciceros*, p. 7) proposed the adverb *proclivi ;* but the conjecture seems not to have met with favor.

his: so the Mss. and most editors. Müller reads *iis*. Since *his* makes sense, there seems no sufficient reason for the change to *iis*.

§ 42. **in magna aliqua re**: the reading of well-nigh all the recent editors. Müller, on good manuscript authority, adds *publica* after *re*, so Meissner. P reads *in magna aliqua rep*. Other Mss. have *in magna aliqua re p* (= *in magnam aliquam rem p*). V omits *p*. The usual explanation of the *p* is the dittography of the initial *p* of the following word *peccantibus*. As Bennett observes, *res publica* is extremely rare in the sense "a public matter."

§ 43. **futura sit**: so all the Mss. except PE, which omit *sit*. Editors

vary. Müller, Lahmeyer, Strelitz, Monet and Nauck omit *sit*; Halm, Reid, Meissner, Long, Novák and Bennett express *sit*.

§ 44. **consilium verum**: the reading of all the Mss. Yet against the consensus of the Mss., Müller and most of the recent editors emend *verum* into *vero*. Reid and Bennett, however, defend *verum* as an adjective ("sincere"), supporting it with citations from Horace, *Sat.* 2, 3, 16, *di te, Damasippe, deaeque verum ob consilium donent tonsore*; and Curtius, 6, 10, 26, *fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas*.

§ 45. **ne necesse sit**: PMBSV omit *ne* by haplography.

§ 46. **putentur**: the reading of PD; the other Mss. have *putantur*. Müller and most of the recent editors read *putentur*.

§ 47. **reapse**: the reading adopted by the editors generally. GBSV have *re ipsa*; PD have *re ab se*.

§ 48. **diffundatur et . . . contrahatur**: so all the editors for the Ms. reading *diffundantur . . . contrahantur*. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 552) inserts *amici* as subject of the plural verbs, and retains the Ms. reading, arguing that *amici* as a result of the resemblance to the preceding *amici* was dropped by careless copying.

si qua significatio: the reading of M, adopted by most editors. GBS read *sic quasi significatio* (dittography), and P *si quasi significatio*.

contigit: so all the best Mss. and editors. DE read *contingit*.

§ 49. **inanibus**: the reading of all the Mss., followed by some of the editors. Müller, Meissner, Novák, Strelitz, and Nauck have *inanimis*, after Baiter. But there appears to be no sufficient reason to reject the reading of the Mss., especially as it makes good sense. To be sure, the conjectural reading is palæographically quite plausible (*bn*>*m*).

animante: so PMD, followed by the editors generally. GBSV read *animo autem*.

§ 50. **alliciat**: the reading of Müller, Strelitz, Meissner, Novák, Bennett and Nauck. Reid and Monet prefer *illiciat*, which seems to have better Ms. support. But *illicere* is generally employed in a bad sense and is not used by Cicero, whereas *allicere* is a favorite word with him.

tam trahat: the reading of the Mss. Müller emends, without sufficient reason, into *attrahat*, adopted by Strelitz, Novák and Meissner. Reid, Monet, Nauck and Bennett defend the Ms. reading.

ad amicitiam: Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 546) thinks these words a gloss, which found their way into the body of the text.

§ 51. **utilitatis (causa)**: so all the Mss. except PE which read *utilitatum*. Editors vary. Müller, Meissner, Strelitz, Novák, Monet and Nauck read *utilitatum*; Lahmeyer, Reid and Bennett *utilitatis*,

which seems the preferable reading on the ground that it is a stock phrase in Cicero's ethical discussions, *utilitatum causa*, as Bennett remarks, being nowhere used.

haud: so all the Mss. except PM, which read *aut*. Müller needlessly changes into *haut*. The recent editors read *haud*.

militiae: the reading of P, adopted by the editors for *amicitiae* of the rest of the Mss.

§ 53. **ferunt, tum exsulantem**: the reading of the Mss., adopted by the majority of the recent editors (Lahmeyer, Schiche, Strelitz, Monet, Reid, Bennett, Nauck). Müller and Novák follow Madvig's conjecture, writing *ferunt exsulantem, tum*.

§ 54. **sperni . . . novis**: omitted in P, and bracketed by Müller, Meissner, Strelitz, Nauck and Monet as an interpolation, according to Mommsen.

§ 55. **laborent**: the reading of most editors for *laborant* of the Mss. (P has *laborantur*). Reid adheres to the Ms. reading.

§ 56. **faciat**: the Mss. all read *facit* adopted by Müller. Editors vary between *facit* and *faciat*. The majority (Halm, Baiter, Meissner, Strelitz, Tücking, Novák and Bennett) write *faciat*, while Reid, Monet and Nauck follow the Mss., writing *facit*. In favor of *faciat*, it is to be noted that in § 59 where the sentence is used again, all the Mss. read *faciat*. Furthermore, the syntax appears to demand the subjunctive here. For these potent reasons *faciat* seems justified here, even against the overwhelming evidence of the Mss.

§ 58. **vera amicitia**: so PMDE, followed by the editors. GBSV transpose (*amicitia vera*).

§ 59. **aut spes**: the reading of most of the Mss. and editors. PM have *aut si spes*.

inducatque in spem: so Müller and the editors generally, though all of the Mss. omit *in*. Reid and Monet follow the Mss. and omit *in*.

esse dictum: Halm and Baiter, on the authority of G, transpose (*dictum esse*).

rursum: so PBDESV, followed by the editors generally. GM read *rursus*. Cicero's usage varies according to Merguet, but the evidence of the Mss. is overwhelmingly for *rursum*.

necesse erit: bracketed by Baiter, but without sufficient reason.

§ 60. **diligendo**: the reading of most Mss., followed by Müller and others. P reads *deligendo*, adopted by Baiter, Lahmeyer, Nauck, Novák, Strelitz, Meissner. It is questionable whether P should outweigh the consensus of all the other Mss.

inimicitiarum: so the Mss. and editors generally. P reads *in amicitiarum*, which is clearly an error.

§ 61. **sint**: Gellius, 1, 3, 13, quotes this passage, reading *sunt* for *sint*.

de via sit: so BVS, followed by Müller and most of the recent editors. PMGDE have *est*. The syntax demands the reading *sit*.

§ 62. **posse**: the reading of E, followed by the editors. All the other Mss. wrongly read *posset*.

ad amicitias: the reading of PMG, followed by Müller and most of the editors. Other Mss. read *amicitiam*.

§ 63. **quo utamur**: the reading of the Mss. Müller regards the text as corrupt. He obelizes it and conjectures the reading *quoad utatur*. Schiche and Nauck supply *ex* before *quo*. Deiter (cf. *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 100, 156) would read *Quo utamur quasi equis tentatis, sic amicitia*, etc. But this conjecture does not commend itself. Most editors follow the Ms. reading, which may be defended.

temptatis: so the editors for *tempestatis* (PGM) and *temperatis* (BDESV).

amicitia ex: the Mss. vary. CKD read *amicitiis ;* PMG, *amicitias ;* EV, *amicitia*. Müller and most of the editors adopt *amicitia*, supplying *ex*. Strelitz brackets *amicitia*. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 547) also regards *amicitia* as an interpolation and takes it as syntactically dependent upon *periclitatis*. Bennett reads *amicitiis*.

Sin erunt: so DE, followed by Müller and most of the modern editors. MGBSV read *sin vero erunt*, followed by Monet. P reads *sinuerunt*. Bennett follows the reading of H 2682 (*Sint vero*).

§ 64. **aut si in bonis**: the reading of all the Mss., followed by Müller and most editors. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 548) puts a colon after *convincunt*, which he claims is demanded by the sense, as the second *aut* is not followed by *si ;* and he brackets *si*. Bennett follows Meissner's reading, but rejects *si*.

§ 65. **semper . . . violatum**: Halm with Beier brackets as an interpolation. All recent editors accept as genuine.

§ 67. **debet**: so the editors for *debent* of the Mss. — an error readily explained by the foregoing *debent*. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 548) thinks the words *esse debent* may have been a gloss, but he would not strike out of the text (with Beier).

§ 68. **afferunt**: Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 552) suggests that *fore* perhaps has fallen out of the text and that upon this *fore* the clause *ut . . . appareat* would depend as the regular construction. This, he holds, would explain the present construction after *spem afferunt*, where one would naturally expect the Infin. with subject Acc., since an *ut*-clause after *spem afferre* is confined usually to ante-classical and post-Augustan writers.

Quin in ipso: all the Mss. read *ipso*, but vary as to *quin*. GBESV have *quin et in ;* P, *qui in ;* M, *que in ;* D, *atqui in*. Müller reads *quin ipso*, omitting *in*, which is common to all the Mss., and this reading has been adopted by several editors. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*,

135, 555) observes that *in* is absolutely demanded by the sense, and so he reads *In ipso* in his text. But his point that Cicero would not use *quin* twice in such close proximity in the same sentence is not apparently well taken. Since *quin* has good manuscript support and suits the context, I would retain this reading with Schiche and Bennett. Bennett cites the authority of the Cornell Ms. (C) *quin in ipso.* (The collation of this Ms. has not been published.)

cum: so the editors, for *quin* of the Mss. Müller writes *quom.*

§ 69. **posse**: some few editors omit (Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer, Novák). Strelitz and Meissner bracket.

§ 70. **consecuti sint**: so PBS, followed by most of the editors. A few editors follow the other Mss. reading *sunt.* But *sint* is clearly demanded by the syntax.

imbecilliore: for Müller's *inbecilliore*, attested by PG. Some editors adopt a variant reading *inbecilliores.*

(famulatu) fuerunt: so most of the editors. PM read *fuerint*, also Nonius 207, 1 M.

duxerint: so PM, followed by Meissner, Strelitz, Nauck, Novák, Monet. DE read *duxerunt*, followed by Müller, Reid, Bennett. The weight of authority seems rather in favor of *duxerint* which makes good sense, though *duxerunt* may also be defended.

§ 72. **opera**: the Mss. read *opere*, followed by Müller and most of the editors. But as Reid observes, *opera* is here properly demanded by the sense. He defends, citing § 51, *si numquam opera nostra Scipio equisset.*

§ 74. **aestimandi**: Mommsen's conjecture for *est* of the Mss. (*a*[*est*]*imandi*), adopted by Müller and others. Some editors simply omit. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 556) conjectures *honestandi*, which he adopts into his text.

Dispares enim mores disparia studia sequuntur: unlike most editors, Müller writes a comma after *mores*, thus taking *mores* and *studia* as synonymous subjects of *sequuntur*, which hardly seems warranted. For the generally received interpretation, see the notes, *ad loc.*

§ 76. **dimittendis**: so the Mss. and editors. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 549) regards as an interpolation and brackets.

eluendae: so all the Mss. and editors except Novák and Bennett. Bennett adopts Novák's conjecture, *solvendae* for *eluendae*, which seems a very doubtful reading in view of the overwhelming evidence of the Mss., even if *eluere*, which is more especially used of "disgrace" or "crime," is somewhat strained in this connection.

§ 77. **Nihil enim est**: the reading of all the Mss. except M, which reads *est enim*, followed by Müller, Kornitzer and most of the recent editors. Nauck, Reid and Bennett read *nihil enim est*, the reading of

the Mss., which makes good sense and ought therefore to be followed.

graviter, auctoritate: the reading of the Mss., followed by Müller, Nauck, Kornitzer, Strelitz, Monet, Novák. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 556) reads *graviter at cum bonitate* (his own conjecture), adopted by Bennett. Halm and Schiche bracket *auctoritate* as an interpolation. Reid emends into *ac moderate*.

§ 78. **oppressae esse**: so all the Mss. except M which omits *esse*. Müller, on the authority of M and Nonius, 440, 25 M., omits *esse*. Baiter, Lahmeyer, Meissner, Strelitz, Monet and Kornitzer also omit. Reid, Bennett and Nauck follow the reading of the Mss., which should be followed since it can be defended.

(non) is: omitted by Müller, evidently by an error, since he makes no comment on it in his *Annotatio Critica*.

§ 80. **sibi quisque**: so PME, followed by most of the recent editors. GBS transpose (*quisque sibi*), followed by Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer, Reid. Note that P is again available, the gap extending from § 75 *magnas te* to § 78 *ne etiam*.

§ 81. **agrestibus**: so the Mss. and editors. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 549) regards as an interpolation and brackets. He suggests *terrestribus*.

ipsae: so all the recent editors, on good Ms. authority. But GBS omit.

§ 85. **diligendis**: the reading of the Mss., followed by Müller, Reid, Novák, Nauck, Kornitzer and Meissner. Monet and Bennett with Lahmeyer read *deligendis*, in support of which Bennett cites the translation of Petavius, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς καὶ θεραπείας. But this citation does not seem sufficient to establish the reading *deligendis* against the overwhelming influence of the Mss. in favor of *diligendis*.

§ 88. **sublevanda**: so all the Mss., followed by Müller and the majority of recent editors. Madvig conjectured *subeunda*, adopted by Reid, Strelitz and Bennett.

offensio est: some editors following the inferior Mss. transpose (*est offensio*).

§ 89. **utimur, comitas**: the reading of the Mss. and of the editors. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 553) would insert *nimirum* which, he says, suits the context and must have fallen out of the text by careless copying because of its similarity to the preceding *utimur*. He therefore reads *utimur, nimirum comitas*.

§ 91. **repugnanter, sic**: the reading of all the Mss. and editors except Meissner. Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 553) would insert *item* before *sic*, claiming that it fell out in careless copying. Accordingly, he reads *repugnanter item sic*.

voluntatem: the reading of the editors in accordance with § 93, *voluntatem*, for the reading *voluptatem* of the Mss.

§ 95. **et severum**: the reading of BCSV, followed by Halm, Baiter, Novák, Bennett and Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrb.*, 135, 556). Müller and others follow the reading of MDGE, omitting *et*. As Bennett has pointed out, *et* cannot properly be omitted here since *severum*, *constantem* and *gravem* are each independent and equal modifiers of *civem*. Other conjectures are *id est verum* (Lahmeyer) and *et verum* (Reid).

§ 96. **illi**: the reading of PBCESV, followed by Novák, Monet, Reid, Bennett. MGD read *illa*, adopted by Müller, Strelitz, Meissner, Kornitzer, Nauck. The sense seems to indicate *illi* as the preferred reading.

non comitem: Meissner (cf. *Neue Jahrbücher*, 135, 550) and Bennett, after Graevius, Wetzel and Gernhard, bracket as an interpolation from § 37, *nec se comitem illius furoris sed ducem praebuit*. But most of the editors accept as genuine.

cooptatio: so the editors for *coaptatio* of the Mss.

§ 97. **scaena**: so Müller and most editors. The Mss. vary. G reads *scena*; PDE, *scamna*; and MBSV, *scāna*.

§ 98. **assentator**: so most of the recent editors for Müller's *adsentator*. PM have the erroneous reading *adsenator*.

§ 99. **assentatione**: for Müller's *adsentatione*.

assentetur: for Müller's *adsentetur*.

§ 100. **Virtus, virtus**: so the majority of recent editors, including Müller. GDS read *virtus* simply, followed by Reid.

dictum: so Müller and the majority of recent editors. PDE read *ductum*, followed by Baiter, Lahmeyer, Monet and Nauck.

efflorescit: for Müller's *ecflorescit*.

§ 101. **alia ex alia**: so Müller, adopting Orelli's emendation, followed by Novák, Strelitz, Meissner and Bennett. As Bennett remarks, Petavius's translation (ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης) shows that the emendation antedates Orelli by several centuries. Reid, Monet, Nauck and Kornitzer reject Orelli's emendation and read *alia aetas*.

§ 104. **affert**: for Müller's *adfert* (P).

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